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Teacher Identity in Context

A comparison of Tanzanian with English primary school teachers

Angeline M. Barrett

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Social Sciences

Department: Graduate School of Education

Date of Submission: January 2005

Teacher Identity in Context: A comparison of Tanzanian with English primary school teachers

Abstract

This thesis sets out to open up a two-way conversation between Tanzanian primary school teachers' constructs of their occupational identity and models of English teacher identity to be found in literature. The problems of teachers in Tanzania, often described as under-qualified, demoralised or unprofessional, are well known. Teachers' own sense of identity and the values they hold relating to the education and upbringing of children are, however, poorly understood. One reason for this is that educational theories evolved in Western contexts tend to produce a deficit view when applied to African contexts. A comparative approach allows for the critical application of insights from teacher identity literature, in which teachers are regarded as thinking, feeling, believing and doing human beings, whilst treating this literature as culturally situated. The research process is modelled as a conversation between myself, informants, the collective identities of Tanzanian and English teachers and academic literature. Tanzanian teachers' views on their responsibilities, the purpose of education and their relations to others were collected through interviews and discussion groups. These were supported by intensive observation of two schools and more extended conversation with and observation of three focus teachers. Bernstein's competence and performance pedagogic modes and their extension to professionalism by Osborn, Broadfoot & McNess are found to be powerful analytic tools for relating teacher identity and practice to context. The performance mode is found to predominate in Tanzania. However, it is mixed with elements of a competence mode, which takes a different form to that found in England. These and other findings have implications for the feasibility of changing practice and the transferability of educational ideas.

Dedication

In memory of my late father-in-law, Mwl. Paulo Mbogo Futakamba

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Author's Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the Regulations of the University of Bristol. The work is original, except where indicated by special reference in the text, and no part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other academic award. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

SIGNED: ..... DATE: 27.09.05

Contents

ABSTRACT I

DEDICATION II

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS II

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION III

CONTENTS IV

LIST OF FIGURES AND PHOTOGRAPHS IX

LIST OF TABLES X

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION 1

1.0 INTRODUCTION 1

1.1 THE PH.D. JOURNEY – RATIONALE AND POSITIONING 2

1.2 RESEARCH AIM, OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS 10

1.3 TOUR OF KEY CONCEPTS 12

1.4 CHAPTER OVERVIEW 22

1.5 SUMMARY 26

CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH AS CONVERSATION: AN EPISTEMOLOGY 27

2.0 INTRODUCTION 27

2.1 METHODOLOGY IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION: MAPPING DIVISIONS 28

2.2 HERMENEUTICS AS EPISTEMOLOGY 34

2.3 CONVERSATION AS AN EPISTEMOLOGICAL MODEL FOR CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISON 41

2.4 SUMMARY OF CONVERSATION MODEL 45

CHAPTER 3: DESIGN OF DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS 48

3.0 INTRODUCTION 48

3.1 RATIONALE FOR USE OF QUALITATIVE METHODS 50

3.2 OUTLINE OF RESEARCH DESIGN 53

3.3 RATIONALE FOR RESEARCH DESIGN 64

3.4 ANALYSIS OF SPEECH DATA 78

3.5 SOME ETHICAL ISSUES 86

3.6 SUMMARY 92

CHAPTER 4: SYSTEMIC AND INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXTS 94

4.0 INTRODUCTION 94

4.1 COMPARISON OF BASIC EDUCATION IN TANZANIA AND ENGLAND 96

4.2 DUAL-SITE SCHOOL CASE STUDY 114

4.3 THE SCHOOL DAY 123

4.4 CONCLUSION ON CONTEXT 136

CHAPTER 5: ENGLISH PRIMARY TEACHER IDENTITY IN CONTEXT OF TRADITION AND REFORM 138

5.0 INTRODUCTION 138

5.1 REASONS FOR A THEORETICAL FOCUS ON ENGLAND 139

5.2 RATIONALIST AND HUMANIST TEACHERS 141

5.3 THE IMPACT OF REFORM 151

5.4 TRANSMISSION OF PASTORAL BUREAUCRACY AND ADVANCED LIBERALISM 164

5.5 CONCLUSION 166

CHAPTER 6: THE PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL - THREE TEACHERS' NARRATIVES 169

6.0 INTRODUCTION 169

6.1 CONSTRUCTION OF THE NARRATIVES 170

6.2 MWL. HADIJAH MAKONDE 174

6.3 MWL. RUTH KIBAJA 178

6.4 MWL. JB'S NARRATIVE 182

6.5 DISCUSSION AND COMPARISON WITH ENGLISH AND NORTH AMERICAN TEACHERS . 188

6.6 SUMMARY 192

CHAPTER 7: RELATIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES - TEACHERS' COLLECTIVE PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY 194

7.0 INTRODUCTION 194

7.1 TEACHERS AND PUPILS 195

7.2 TEACHERS, LOCAL COMMUNITY AND PARENTS 201

7.3 TEACHERS AS STATE EMPLOYEES 208

7.4 CONCLUSION 218

CHAPTER 8: TEACHERS IN THE CLASSROOM 223

8.0 INTRODUCTION 223

8.1 RATIONALE FOR LESSON OBSERVATION AND DESCRIPTION 224

8.2 LESSON DESCRIPTIONS 225

8.3 DISCUSSION 242

8.4 COMPARISON WITH ENGLAND 252

8.5 SUMMARY 261

CHAPTER 9: A TYPOLOGY OF TANZANIAN PRIMARY TEACHER IDENTITIES

.....263

9.0 INTRODUCTION.....263

9.1 TEACHER TYPOLOGY.....264

9.2 DISCUSSION OF TYPOLOGY: TOWARDS POLICY IMPLICATIONS.....277

9.3 POLICY IMPLICATIONS 285

9.4 SUMMARY 289

CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSION.....290

10.0 INTRODUCTION.....290

10.1 SUMMARY OF THEORETICAL CONCLUSIONS.....290

10.2 USEFULNESS OF THE STUDY 300

10.3 STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS.....302

10.4 DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH 307

10.5 THE LAST WORD DEFERRED 310

PHOTOGRAPHS FROM FIELDWORK IN TANZANIA.....311

REFERENCES.....312

ABBREVIATIONS.....330

APPENDIX 1: DOCUMENTS FOR NEGOTIATING ACCESS.....333

APPENDIX 1.1: PROPOSAL SENT TO COSTECH FOR ACCESS TO TANZANIA.....334

APPENDIX 1.2: TIMETABLES.....342

APPENDIX 1.3: INITIAL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE.....343

APPENDIX 1.4: INTRODUCTION TO RESEARCH FOR DEOS & OXFAM STAFF.....345

APPENDIX 1.5: DOCUMENT INTRODUCING RESEARCH TO SCHOOLS.....352

APPENDIX 1.6: BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO STAGE 2 OF RESEARCH.....354

APPENDIX 1.7: BRIEF EXPLANATION FOR FOCUS TEACHERS 356

APPENDIX 1.8: LETTER TO REGIONS FROM COSTECH.....360

APPENDIX 1.9: EXAMPLE OF LETTER FROM REGION TO DISTRICTS.....361

APPENDIX 1.10: EXAMPLE LETTER FROM DISTRICT TO SCHOOLS.....364

APPENDIX 1.11: EXAMPLE LETTER TO DEOS INTRODUCING STAGE 2.....366

APPENDIX 1.12: LETTER OF INVITATION TO DISCUSSION MEETING.....368

APPENDIX 2: FEEDBACK DOCUMENTS.....370

APPENDIX 2.1: FEEDBACK DOCUMENT FOR DEOS.....371

APPENDIX 2.2: TRANSCRIPT OF VERBAL PRESENTATION TO DISCUSSION MEETINGS.....372

APPENDIX 2.3: LETTER SENT TO SCHOOLS AFTER COMPLETION OF FIELDWORK.....378

APPENDIX 2.4: FEEDBACK DOCUMENT FOR SCHOOLS.....381

APPENDIX 3: ADMINISTRATION AND HISTORY OF PRIMARY EDUCATION.....388

APPENDIX 3.1: PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHER QUALIFICATIONS IN TANZANIA AND ENGLAND.....389

APPENDIX 3.2: TEACHER DEPLOYMENT AND MANAGEMENT IN TANZANIA.....394

APPENDIX 3.3: SUMMARY HISTORY OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN TANZANIA AND ENGLAND.....401

List of Figures

Fig. 3.1. Map of Tanzania showing Shinyanga and Coast regions 55

Fig. 4.1 Comparison of school systems in Tanzania and England 98

Fig. 4.2 Comparison of curricula in Tanzania and England 99

Fig. 8.1: Blackboard presentation 229

Fig. 9.1 Venn diagram showing division of one-to-one interviewees into types 265

Fig. 9.2 Oval diagram, showing the 'missing frame' in the gap between instrumental and relational. (Jessop & Penny, 1998:400) 279

Fig. 9.3 The shape of the Beninese teacher-identity landscape, Welmond (2002:53) 281

Fig. 9.4 Tanzania teacher identity map 285

Fig. Ax.3.1a: Entry requirements for teacher training courses in Tanzania 390

Fig. Ax.3.1b: Enrolments in Public Teachers' Colleges 393

Fig. Ax.3.2: Simplified scheme of Tanzanian educational administration relative to primary teachers 395

List of Tables

Table 2.1: Features associated with quantitative and qualitative research approaches 29

Table 3.1: Characteristics of interviewees 58

Table 3.2: Location of interviewees 58

Table 3.3: Features of case study schools 60

Table 3.4: Examples of themes and sub-themes in topic "who am I" 81

Table 3.5: Terms used in script theory and discourse analysis 83

Table 4.1: % Enrolment ratios in Tanzania and UK 97

Table 4.2: Comparison of primary national curriculum subjects 105

Table 4.3: Comparison of teachers' education in Tanzania and England 113

Table 4.4: S3-7 timetables for single shift town & village schools 133

Table 5.1: Some contrasting aspects of competence and performance models in relation to schools 155

Table 8.1: Syllabus specification 230

Table 8.2: Syllabus specification 233

Table 8.3: Syllabus specification 237

Table 8.4: Syllabus specification 241

Table 8.5: Some contrasting aspects of performance and competence modes 255

Table 10.1: Some contrasting features of Tanzanian competence and performance models 298

Table Ax. 3.1: Tanzanian primary teachers' qualifications in 2001 390

Table Ax. 3.2a: Comparison of teacher deployment statistics for Tanzania and England 394

Table Ax. 3.2b: Levels of national and local government, offices concerned with education 394

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.0 Introduction

The research presented in this thesis is a qualitative inquiry into the collective occupational identity of Tanzanian primary school teachers compared with that of English primary school teachers, the latter arrived at through a desktop study. It is unusual in claiming to be a comparative study of two countries whilst relying entirely on a literature review as a source of information on one of the countries. It is also unusual in aiming to open up a two-way conversation between educational models, in this case models of teacher identity, existing in a low- and a high-income country. It is, however, far from unusual for academic research to apply educational theories evolved in Western contexts to low-income ones. Equally, unacknowledged comparison between low- and high-income contexts is implicit to many evaluations and reports relating to education in so-called 'developing countries'. This research was carried out on the premise that a low-income country can learn from educational theories evolved in a Western context but that these theories need to be treated as culturally-situated. Conversely, educational theory informed by experiences of low-income countries can enhance understanding of the interaction between context and processes in high-income countries. It exploits the potential of a comparative approach to critically interrogate the value-basis of models of professionalism found in Tanzania and literature on English teachers. In so doing, it suggests ways that each may learn from the other.

My choice of topic and research approach was born out of prior practitioner experience, personal values and the research literature that has inspired me most.

These cumulatively shaped the design of the research project from its conception, although they were also challenged and modified as it unfolded. It is therefore appropriate to give the rationale in the form of an account of a journey to a Ph.D. The account in section 1.1 (p. 2) also positions the study relative to literature on teachers. The following section spells out the research aim, objectives, methodological framework, questions for fieldwork and working definitions of 'teacher identity' and 'context'. The methodological ideas, theoretical concepts and substantive themes are briefly introduced under the heading *Tour of Key Concepts* in section 1.3 (p. 12). As is common with interpretive methodologies, many of the key concepts emerged in the course of the study. Most, however, were present from the beginning as foreshadowed knowledge that came into sharper focus both through the empirical research and engagement with literature. As with an image in a viewing lens, greater clarity revealed unanticipated areas of complexity and new areas of ambiguity. The chapter closes with a chapter overview outlining the organisation of the thesis.

1.1 The Ph.D. journey – rationale and positioning

1.1.1 Why comparative? Perspectives of a M.Ed. student

My interest in teacher identity derives from the disparity I perceived between theories and models I encountered as a M.Ed. student and my observations and experiences as a teacher in three different secondary schools in East Africa. At the point when I started the Masters, I had just returned from three years as a fulltime teacher in Tanzania but had only ever taught on a part-time and temporary basis in tutorial and further education (FE) colleges in England. Although actively encouraged to apply new knowledge to the educational context of Tanzania, it was my rather patchy experience of English education and general knowledge of its history, culture and

politics which enabled me to make sense of the school management literature. This was most apparent when I came to tackle an assignment on staff development. During the nineties, teacher development in the school improvement and effectiveness literature was treated as a special case of professional development (e.g. Dean, 1991; Tomlinson, 1997). The discourse of 'clients' and 'quality service' associated with 'professionalism' sat uncomfortably with what I knew of teachers' work in East Africa or even as a pre-reform pupil in England and Wales. It was my work in FE that gave me a sense of how these ideas are played out in practice. It was only because of my indigenous sense of context that I could relate them to political agendas and place them relative to historic understandings of teachers' work in England.

My experiences are echoed in Harber & Davies' observations of supposedly international Masters courses:

> It was clear that existing courses on educational management in the School of Education in which we worked – and in other institutions which we visited – were inadequate for teachers and managers from developing countries. This was because either they were so general and context-free that they did not address relevant issues or use relevant examples or, more commonly - and especially after the Education Reform Act of 1988 - they were entirely specific to the English and Welsh context. (Harber & Davies, 1997:1)

When they set out to redress this situation with their text, *School Management and Effectiveness in Developing Countries*, they found that it was "crucial to redress the political void in much First World Effectiveness literature" (1997:81). This 'political void' conceals an assumption that theory generated in Western countries is value-and context-neutral and hence, Western norms become the standards against which other educational systems are measured. I became convinced that if countries like Tanzania were to benefit from the extensive wealth of research and educational

ideas generated in the West, those theories needed to be understood as situated within a particular historic tradition and contemporary political context. It is for this reason I chose to include a comparative element in a study that is foremostly concerned with education in Tanzania. Since the days of Michael Sadler, comparativists have recognised that to learn from the education systems of other countries it is necessary to appreciate their national context (Crossley & Vulliamy, 1997a:8; N. Grant, 2000). Lawrence Stenhouse pointed out that this perspective can be reflected back on our understandings of education 'at home':

> [I]f one takes comparative education to denote the activity of studying outside one's own cultural boundaries, then there is a perspective provided by it which cannot be provided by any other principle of study. Crudely, 'tae see oursel's as ithers see us'. (Stenhouse, 1979:8)

1.1.2 *Why teacher identity? Teachers I knew*

Two of the schools where I taught in East Africa were boarding and staff lived on the campus, so my work colleagues were also my neighbours. I gradually became aware that we were living under stress, although this word was not used by my colleagues. The stress arose not from the demands of work in schools but the general business of living in a low-income country. The regular round of bereavements, a consequence of poor health and sanitary facilities, took an emotional toll as well as traumatic local events. Teachers sometimes had to travel long distances to attend to family issues and senior teachers often had considerable responsibilities within their extended families. I arrived at a school in Mwanza a few months after the tragic sinking in 1996 of an overloaded passenger ferry on Lake Victoria. Inevitably, several students and teachers lost relatives and friends. Not long after I left the school, the headmistress died suddenly in a car accident whilst travelling to national Annual Education Conference. Events such as these are

reminders that schools are not insulated from their socio-cultural and economic contexts but rather are made up of pupils and teachers, who are very much in the midst of their societies.

This Ph.D. was formulated partly in reaction to the dominance of effectiveness approaches (e.g. Farrell & Oliveira, 1993), which when applied to 'developing countries' tend to reduce to cost-efficiency analysis (as commented by Hawes & Stephens, 1990; Pennycuick, 1993). For example, an effectiveness approach might declare it is inefficient for teachers to only be timetabled fourteen hours class contact time per week. This was typical of most of my colleagues' timetables. Nonetheless, they did work very long days as they gave time to informal income-raising activities, which enabled them to build a house or pay their children's school fees. Within technical rationalist approaches (e.g. Farrell & Oliveira, 1993), the demands of extended families and the effects of the AIDS pandemic were treated only in relation to staff absenteeism and teacher recruitment. In short, effectiveness approaches reduced teachers to an unmotivated, underpaid, under-qualified workforce, both products and part of the problem of low-quality schools. Such descriptions did not even begin to do justice to the many conscientious and enthusiastic teachers I have worked alongside: the physics department which sharpened the subject knowledge of its younger members in lengthy after school discussions; the teachers who, from a sense of equity, refused to charge students for tutorials even when this meant supplementing their inadequate income with more physically demanding activities; the domestic science department that enthused a whole girls' school; the teachers who covertly supported young women taking 'A' level exams whilst concealing pregnancies.

On the other hand, none of the teachers I knew were the self-sacrificing angels, who occasionally enter the pages of literature (see for example Hurst & Rust, 1990:160). They did not belong to that small band of exceptional gifted teachers that Knamiller *et al.* (1999) assure us exist in every country. Some of the most skilled pedagogues I knew were also alcoholics, although this did not always lead to related problems of unprofessional conduct observed by Harber & Davies (1997). Others were making considerable amounts of money from private tuition, thanks to their reputation as good teachers, however this did not necessarily detract from their school work. Nearly all adhered to the traditional whole-class didactic teaching approaches they knew best. Nonetheless, they knew their students as individuals, could comment on the academic progress of each and were aware of the family background and personal struggles of a few. The schools I worked in were places where there were occasional instances of cruelty or neglect: the very public humiliation of a student caught stealing; the boarding school student who died suddenly of typhoid after the matron ignored her request for medical attention. Schools were also places where compassion was an unobtrusive commonplace: teachers welcomed sixth form students, who were concealing pregnancies in the final term of their schooling, into their homes for nutritious meals; headteachers might happen not to notice when the talented child of a subsistence farmer only paid half the fees.

Hence, my choice of topic was partly driven by dissatisfaction with representations of teachers in so-called 'developing countries' within a certain type of literature. It was also prompted by two sets of literature and research that did impress me. The first was concerned only with Western contexts but portrayed teachers as thinking,

feeling, believing, doing human beings. From this genre, I have drawn on Nias' study of English primary teachers' identity (Nias, 1989), Andy Hargreaves' writing on teachers and change (A. Hargreaves, 1994) and Osborn, McNess & Broadfoot's study of English primary school teachers' response to reform (Osborn *et al.*, 2000). The first research I encountered, however, was Broadfoot & Osborn's comparative study of English and French primary teachers and it was their conclusion that teachers' practice is mediated by their culturally-situated educational values that inspired my own attempt to research Tanzanian teachers' values. The second set of teacher literature was concerned with 'developing' countries but explained teachers' practice by considering various aspects of their context. This included the work of Guthrie, Crossley and Vulliamy (Crossley & Guthrie, 1987; Guthrie, 1990; Crossley & Vulliamy, 1997a) as well as Monk (1999) and Tabulawa (1997). The arguments of these writers, together with my own experiences, convinced me that context should be a major analytical thread. These two sets of literature also informed my choice of methodology. Vulliamy, Lewin & Stephens' (1990) jointly authored book and Crossley & Vulliamy's edited book (1997b), both aimed at beginner researchers working in 'developing' countries, introduced me to the strength of qualitative methodologies, such as case study or ethnography, for yielding descriptive data and being responsive to culture. Teacher literature written from a Western perspective illustrated the power of qualitative methods, such as life history, unstructured interviews and narrative methods, for accessing identity (e.g. Clandinin & Connelly, 1995; P. Woods, 1996). The empirical research design for this study incorporates elements of each of these, organised by a hermeneutic interpretive epistemology.

1.1.3 Why primary teachers? Where curiosity takes over from experience

My choice of research topic arises not only from experience but an interest and

curiosity towards a sub-sector of education of which I have no practitioner experience, namely the primary level. There were two reasons for preferring primary over secondary. The first is that secondary education in Tanzania, as in most low-income countries, is an elite education. The proportion of the Tanzanian population, which has passed through the first four years of secondary school (equivalent to GCSE or year 11 in England and Wales), is much smaller than the proportion of the English population with a higher education degree. I was interested in the basic education cycle that most citizens receive and may therefore be supposed to have the greatest impact on national culture. In Tanzania, this officially means primary education alone although, with enrolment ratios of around 70% (UNESCO Institute of Statistics, UIS, reported 69% for 2001/2), it is arguable that more research could usefully be carried out into the phenomena of no formal education and incomplete primary education. Hence, I chose to compare primary school teachers in Tanzania and England despite being aware that the primary cycle in these two countries is very far from being equivalent.

A second reason for focussing on primary education is that it is this level that for the last decade has been subject to the most international scrutiny and investment. This is because since 1990 the Education for All (EFA) movement, supported by the World Bank and UNESCO, has galvanized governments and development agencies into expanding primary education. EFA has also focussed attention on quality and by the mid 1990s, a spotlight was turned on teachers as both casualties and causes of poor quality in education (UNESCO, 1998). Research on teachers and educational quality in Sub Saharan Africa, however, points to what may be described as a crisis of professionalism amongst teachers (e.g. Harber & Davies, 1997; Fry, 2002) and

Tanzania is no exception (Alphonce, 1993; Rajani, 2001). By far the most prevalent form of misconduct in Tanzania is chronic absenteeism, behaviour that is understandable when salaries keep teachers and their families hovering around the poverty line. However, investigations into pupils' and parents' perceptions also reveal instances of embezzlement of school funds, coercing pupils to labour on private farms or to pay for 'tuitions', illegal administration of corporal punishment and sexual abuse extending to impregnation of school girls (Cooksey *et al.*, 1993; Rajani & Robinson, 1999). Just as perplexing is the remarkable resilience of many teachers despite the condition of their schools and their inadequate salaries. All this has led international development agencies supporting educational improvement to wonder 'what makes teachers tick' (Fry, 2002).

At the same time, academics within Tanzania have started to explore issues of professionalism in response to unethical behaviour in white-collar occupations (Bakilana, 2000; Mwamila, 2000). Alphonce's (1999) application of contemporary Western models of professionalism to Tanzanian teachers reveals the need for more theoretical work in this area. In England, professionalism has become topical in the context of wide-ranging curricular and administrative changes that have impacted on teachers' sense of professional identity (observed by, amongst others, Ball, 1999; Osborn *et al.*, 2000). Shock waves from the 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA) and multiple changes, which followed it, are still reverberating through educational debate. Hence, the choice of primary school teacher identity as a research topic is not just a reaction against technical-rationalist research approaches but a decision to engage with an issue currently of concern to the international development industry and both Tanzania and British academics.

1.2 Research aim, objectives and questions

My interest in teachers and teacher professionalism crystallised over the course of the whole research process into the aims, objectives and research questions given below.

1.2.1 Research aim

The aim of this study is to open a two-way conversation between Tanzanian teachers' perceptions of their occupational identity and models of teacher identity to be found in the literature on English primary teachers, treating each as contextually situated.

1.2.2 Research objectives

This leads into five research objectives:

1. To investigate models of primary teacher identity in England through a review of literature and relate these to the historical, cultural and political context of primary education in England;

2. to listen to and authentically represent Tanzanian primary school teachers' reported beliefs regarding the education and up-bringing of children and their perceptions of their responsibilities and relations to others;

3. to use case study and narrative techniques to provide 'thick' description of local context and relate Tanzanian primary teachers' perceptions to their material, systemic and social contexts;

4. to draw comparisons with primary teacher identity in England, treating each as contextually-situated and hence arrive at theoretical conclusions on the relationship between teacher identity and context as well as policy implications for both Tanzania and England;

5. To reflect critically on methodological and ethical issues arising in the course of the research, including the implications for learning from two-way comparison between a high- and low-income country.

1.2.3 Methodological framework

The methodological approach taken is located within the family of hermeneutic interpretive or constructivist approaches. This is understood as meaning that knowledge is constructed through an iterative process of interpretation throughout the whole research process. Drawing on Gadamer's dialogic hermeneutics (1975), this iterative process is modeled as a conversation, where each participant is prepared to listen respectfully to the others and to expose their pre-understandings to the views of the others. Participants in the conversation include the inquirer (myself), individual research participants, the collective identities of Tanzanian and English primary teachers and academic literature.

1.2.4 Research questions

Towards achieving the objectives, the fieldwork in Tanzania was framed by the following research questions:

1. How do teachers describe 'a good teacher', 'good teaching practice', their relations with pupils, parents, the community and education administration, including employment issues?

2. How are teachers' perceptions influenced by their material, systemic and social contexts?

3. How does teachers' professional and personal identity and context influence their practice?

These questions are addressed using qualitative methods, including one-to-one interviews with thirty-four teachers, discussion groups, observation of two focus schools and more extensive interviews with and observation of three focus teachers.

1.3 Tour of key concepts

1.3.1 Working definitions of 'teacher identity' and 'context'

'Identity' and 'context' are both susceptible to being used as catch-all terms. This makes them amenable as organising concepts for an interpretive approach in which the emphasis is on constructing meaning through the research process rather than verifying or disproving preconceived theoretical constructs. In practice, however, any research is shaped by preconceived ideas and whilst, within a dialogic hermeneutic approach these are exposed to interrogation, they nonetheless determine the shape of the project. Nias (1989:27) found that English primary school teachers shared a remarkably coherent sense of occupational identity, associated with a specific set of educational values, despite their very diverse personalities and backgrounds, which she called "corporate self-image". By 'teacher identity' I mean this shared identity, collectively constructed and maintained by teachers themselves. Collective occupational identity is formed out of the shared experience of individuals as well as their cognizance of how others perceive them, as Welmond explains:

> Teacher identity refers to both the personal experience and role of teachers in a given society. It includes both the subjective sense of individuals who engage in the

occupation of teaching and how others view teachers (Welmond, 2002:42)

Teacher identity then is constructed out of teachers' perceptions of their relations with and responsibilities towards others and their reactions to how others perceive them. This includes the role and status that they assume or are accorded in schools and society.

Nias (1989) drew on psychological models of identity to argue that we each of us continually work at constructing and maintaining a coherent sense of self-identity. Teachers construct a coherent personal self-identity that lies at the intersection of the various identities they are assigned or actively chose for themselves with respect to other groups of people. A person's occupational identity as a teacher may be more-or-less integrated or independent of his or her other identities. For example, a person's identity as a son or daughter may be more closely integrated with her or his identity as a teacher if s/he has a parent, who is also a teacher. Someone raising a family, whose salary is a relatively small proportion of overall household income, may as a consequence identify less with teaching. If educational achievement or social origins are perceived as an important part of self-identity then this may have implications for how teacher identity is constructed relative to pupils and the community. All these examples are taken from the data, illustrating how an understanding of teacher identity and its relation to self-identity was constructed through the research process.

Context as a theme runs through the study, sometimes explicit, sometimes implicit but always integral to methodology and theory. My understandings of context remained relatively fixed throughout the research process. Context, like identity is

pluralist. It may refer to the national, systemic, local, school and personal levels and include the history, geography, economy, politics and culture of each. Approaching identity through relations integrally situates teachers within the education system, national society and local communities. Beyond a brief comparison of organisation of education and curricula in Tanzania and England, there is no explicit focus on the national context of policy and history in Tanzania. In places a narrative writing style is used to give a holistic representation of individual schools and teachers and how they interact with context and policy, both national and international. The reason for embedding references to policy in this way is that in Tanzania the realities of implemented policy often deviate sharply from the rhetoric of official policy (Crossley & Vulliamy, 1984:197-198). For example, formal policy permits repitition of only the fourth year of primary school. In practice, as almost everyone in Tanzania knows, if a teacher or parent wishes it, a child may repeat any year. Policy documents can only give limited insight into what teachers experience and do in their schools.

1.3.2 Research as conversation

The fact of my being a British researcher based in an English university carrying out research on teachers in Tanzania, a former British protectorate, has its own set of associated dilemmas. Tikly (2004), writing from a postcolonial perspective, has argued that dominant development discourses seek objective knowledge of populations in low-income countries, for example through measurement of literacy or fertility rates. In this manner, they perpetuate the 'othering' of populations of low-income countries begun in the colonial era. At times, it has been difficult to critically distance myself from a dominant development discourse that pathologises all aspects of education in a country like Tanzania as a problem to be solved with the aid of Western intervention. Positioning the study within the theoretically-oriented

comparative tradition, as opposed to the applied policy-oriented international branch of international and comparative education (a distinction drawn by Crossley & Watson, 2003:120) has, to an extent, sheltered it from development agendas. A second resolution lies in the epistemological foundations of the study. I have borrowed from Gadamer's dialogic hermeneutics to model research as conversation. The conversation metaphor works at several levels, including method, analysis and engagement with research literature. In terms of substantive content, this means opening a two-way conversation between models of teacher identity found in literature relating to England and the ideas of practitioners in Tanzania. In a conversation, conversants aim to discover what they can learn from the other. In other words, they are interested in the strengths not the deficits in the other conversant's knowledge. Keeping this theoretical goal in mind has helped in avoiding the 'deficit view' trap.

Several studies have attempted to thoughtfully apply theories generated within Anglophone Western countries to African contexts. These include Davies' investigations of teachers' occupational culture in Southern Africa (1992; 1993), Jessop & Penny's (1998) application of literature on teachers and change to reform in The Gambia and South Africa and Welmond's (2002) illuminating comparison of teacher identity in France, USA and Benin. All these studies have contributed towards the conceptualisation of this study. There are fewer examples of studies that expose Western notions of good teaching to the ideals of African practitioners. Schweisfurth (2002) gives an account of a two-way conversation in "negotiating" the meaning of democracy with student teachers in The Gambia. Dei (2002) defies implicit transfer by using Ghanaian constructs of self and community to scrutinize

curriculum innovation. There remains a shortage of comparisons between African and other countries that examine the practices and culture of education systems on an equal basis and are carried out with a conviction that valuable learning can be achieved in more than one direction. Such studies, whether looking at two or more low-income countries or a mixture of low-, middle- and high-incomes countries, have the potential to create a alternative discourses to those that dominate within educational development.

1.3.3 Inter-textual comparison

Although this study is explicitly comparative in its theoretical structure, no attempt is made at empirical comparison. Fieldwork is only conducted in Tanzania and literature is relied on to represent the English case. This is because I aim to show how literature written from and for a Western context can be critically applied to low-income contexts in a way that allows for the contextually-situated nature of knowledge. Behind this rationale lies a pragmatic acknowledgement that a much greater body of theory is generated within more affluent countries and that this can be put to use to enhance understandings of teachers' work in low-income settings. Equally pragmatically and more particular to this study, there seems little reason to divert time and energy into fieldwork in England given the relatively large body of high-quality research already published on English teachers. Osborn (2004) has discussed some of the considerable challenges involved in comparing education systems of countries that are relatively similar in their economic and cultural profile . It would be extremely difficult indeed to design approximately equivalent research tools for comparing Tanzania and England that are capable of penetrating beyond the glaring disparity in resources to the level of educational values. A total reliance on literature to describe the English situation facilitates selection of the pertinent

information without spending too much time counting desks and textbooks. I have used the term '*inter-textual comparison*' for the process of comparing empirical data from one country with reported findings from a published study on another country. Alexander's style of presentation in his five country study of primary pedagogy and culture (Alexander, 2000), where he has reproduced a selection of whole lesson observations, plans of classrooms as well as descriptions of school architecture and a collection of photographs, has made his study especially accessible for inter-textual comparison.

1.3.4 Professionalism, work and identity

The starting title for the Ph.D. study was 'Primary School Teachers' Conceptualisations of Professionalism'. Implicit within the title was an understanding that the meaning of 'professionalism' is culturally-situated and this alone made it a problematic as an organising theme of a comparative study. Not only does it have cultural connotations but is subject to politically-motivated interpretations. For a while, I substituted the rather bland term 'work'. In the past, left-leaning researchers of teachers, such as Connell (1985), Ozga (1988) and Robertson (2000), have preferred 'work' not only because of reservations over discourses of 'professionalisms' but also to indicate an engagement with labour issues. Other writers, such as Acker (1999:19) have used 'work' to detract from a popular impression of primary teaching as a caring vocation or, particularly for women, an extension of parenting. 'Work' as well as 'professionalism' has different connotations when applied to a low-income country context. Tanzanian primary school teachers, rather like their English and American counterparts in the past (e.g. Etzioni, 1969), are often portrayed in academic literature as having ambiguous professional status (Bogonko, 1992; Alphonce, 1999). These judgements are based on 'classical'

criteria of professionalism, including nature and length of training and possession of esoteric knowledge (as explained by Hughes, 1994/1965). Many primary school teachers have not had a secondary education and hence, against these criteria, do not qualify as being professionals. Yet, from the perspective of many Tanzanian citizens primary school teachers are relatively well educated. Furthermore, in a country where for the majority of people 'work' means self-employment in the informal sector or subsistence farming, teachers in many local communities are peculiar if not privileged in being salaried government employees. Given that many teachers also farm or work informally, theoretical frameworks that treat teaching as work cannot be straightforwardly transposed to low-income contexts. That is not to deny that much is relevant in these approaches. As this study shows, labour issues can appear in more exaggerated forms in contexts of scarcity.

There were three reasons for alighting finally on 'identity'. First, it took one step back from 'professionalism' and 'work' creating space for more fundamental questions. For example, do teachers' regard their occupation as a profession, as a vocation, as a job or as having aspects of two or more of these? Second, 'identity' accurately reflects the theoretical positioning of the study, aligning it with other studies inquiring into teachers' own perceptions and the discourses they use to describe their work (examples in England are Nias, 1989; P.J. Woods & Jeffrey, 2002; and in Africa Jessop & Penny, 1998; Welmond, 2002). Third, teacher identity foregrounded relations between teachers and others. Teachers' relations with other groups, including pupils, colleagues, community and the education administration, was an organising theme for interview schedules I drew up before fieldwork (see appendix 1.3). This was an incidence when arriving at the most appropriate theoretical tools

brought clarity not only to the findings but foreshadowed knowledge that had helped shape the study. I have for convenience continued to use the word 'profession' to refer to teachers as an occupational group. I also talk of teachers as 'professionals' and use 'professional identity' and 'teacher identity' interchangeably. There are two reasons for not avoiding the word 'professional'. First, I have drawn upon literature on teacher professionalism (e.g. Broadfoot & Osborn, 1993) and second it accurately reflects the centrality of ethics within teaching. Where I use the term 'teachers' work' this may be assumed to refer only to work carried out by teachers in their capacity as government-employed teachers. In places, I differentiate carefully between teachers' collective professional or occupational identity and personal self-identity. Collective identity is conceived as the "corporate self-image" (Nias, 1989:27) that is collectively constructed and continuously being re-negotiated through an accumulation of individual and group interactions amongst teachers and between teachers and other groups. Personal self-identity or self-identity belongs to a single individual and is co-constructed by that individual and others with whom she interacts, most significantly close family members, friends and colleagues. Taking a cue from Bernstein (1975:18), I consider someone's cultural resources, forms of communication and experience to be personal properties and his or her material resources and expertise to be individual properties. Hence, individualism is the concern for the material well-being of an economic individual whereas personalisation is the concern for the realisation of the supposed creative potential of a cultural person, often expressed as 'self-realisation'.

1.3.5 Accountability and responsibility, performance and competence

Broadfoot & Osborn in their studies of English and French primary teachers framed relations in terms of accountability and responsibility, at the same time pointing out

that the French had no conceptual equivalent to accountability (Broadfoot & Osborn, 1987, 1988, 1993). They defined responsibility as "the internalised, articulated product of diverse strands of accountability" (Broadfoot & Osborn, 1993:120) and distinguished between teachers' self-imposed responsibility and externally imposed accountability. Later, in a study of English teachers' reactions to reform they related the responsibility-accountability dichotomy to Bernstein's pedagogic modes. Responsibility, this time defined as "personal and 'moral' accountability", was identified with a competence mode of professionalism backed by a 'covenant' and contrasted to "external and contractual accountability, backed by inspection", identified with the performance mode (Osborn *et al.*, 2000:236).

Osborn *et al.*'s extension of Bernstein's pedagogic modes to constructs of professionalism directly links teacher identity, including relations with others, with pedagogic practice. Bernstein characterised the performance mode as placing emphasis on:

> a specific output of the acquirer, upon a particular text the acquirer is expected to construct, and upon the specialized skills necessary to the production of this specific output, text or product. (Bernstein, 1996:57-8)

Consequently, within performance modes, absence or deficit in the pupil's output is assessed according to explicit criteria that are transparent to both teacher and pupil. Bernstein associated competence pedagogies with a number of broad social science traditions that emerged in the 1960s, including the work of Chomsky in Linguistics, Piaget in Psychology and Garfinkel in Sociology. He claimed these had in common a belief in a "universal democracy of acquisition", a view of the subject as active and creative in the construction of meanings and practice, a "critical sceptical view of hierarchical relations" and "a celebration of what we are rather than what we have

become" (Bernstein, 1996:56). He went on to characterise pedagogic modes based on the social logic of competence as giving greater apparent control over content and pace to teachers and pupils, celebrating the realisation of pupils' presumed competences and hence evaluating what is present rather than absent in their output. Consequently, evaluation criteria are not explicit and teachers require an extended education in competence educational theories. Control is diffused through interpersonal relations between learner and teacher. These features prompted Bernstein at one point to characterise competence modes as "invisible pedagogies" (Bernstein, 1975).

1.3.6 Contexts of scarcity in low-income countries

A range of terms, including 'child-centred', 'democratic' and 'participative' have been used to describe ideals of 'good teaching practice' in education and development literature. Exceptional teachers aside (as described by Savage, 1998; Knamiller, 1999), teachers in contexts of scarcity are found to fall short of these ideals. Performance modes, variously described as 'teacher-centred', 'didactic', 'authoritarian' or 'transmissional' are overwhelmingly found to predominate in Sub Saharan Africa (e.g. Prophet, 1995; Ackers & Hardman, 2001). Bernstein conceived of his pedagogic modes as descriptions of context as well as practice. In performance modes, time, space and knowledge are rigidly demarcated by boundaries that competence modes act to weaken. More pertinently, competence modes are relatively expensive, requiring not only more extensive training for teachers but a greater time investment in order to practice personalised evaluation and high teacher to pupil ratios to facilitate interpersonal relations between teacher and learner. Many researchers with long experience of low-income countries are acutely aware of the constraints of context on practice and professionalism. As early

as 1966, Beeby hypothesised that teachers' practice was determined by the 'stage of development' of the education systems in which they worked (Beeby, 1966). Guthrie (1990) argued that teachers in 'developing countries' prefer traditional teaching methods not because they did not know any other strategies but because these work best in their material, systemic and social contexts (an argument echoed by Monk 1999). Johnson, Monk and Hodges (2000) in a study of science teachers in South Africa, highlighted context rather than teacher capability as a constraint by concluding that professional teachers can only be found in professional environments. Tabulawa (1997) and Harley (2000) discuss how teachers in Botswana and South Africa respectively are influenced by authoritarian and chauvinist values that they hold in common with the wider society within which they live. This and other research not only suggests that teacher (and learner) practice is intimately related to identity and context but that context is, if anything, more influential in low-income countries, where scarcity of resources impede policy implementation. I frequently use the term 'contexts of scarcity' to describe the sum total of the consequences of low-income economies for education systems including weak managerial capacity, poor communications infrastructure that isolates rural schools and under-provision of access to all educational levels.

1.4 Chapter overview

Very loosely, the chapters can be grouped into four sections, dealing with framework, context, identity and summary. This and the next two chapters position the study theoretically and lay out the methodological framework. Chapters four and five may be thought of as context chapters, locating Tanzanian and English teachers with respect to their systemic, organisational, historical and social contexts. The next four chapters present findings from the fieldwork relating directly to teacher identity and

discuss them with reference to literature on how teachers construct their identity, suggesting some implications for practice. Conclusions are summarised in the final chapter.

Framework chapters 1-3

The next chapter continues the exercise of positioning the study by tracing the methodological divisions within comparative education and arguing that many of these can be and are bridged by contemporary scholars. I then build on Gadamer's (1975) dialogic hermeneutics using Bakhtin's dialogics and Stuart Hall's understandings of identity to arrive at the conversation model of research. Chapter three develops the design of field research in Tanzania, describing the districts in which research was carried out and the methods used for collection and analysis. It finishes by reflecting on ethical dilemmas encountered and the challenges of reciprocity in an international research project.

Context chapters 4-5

Chapter four is the context chapter, giving background information on the education systems and schools in which teachers work. It deals with the non-equivalence of the primary education levels in Tanzania and England by comparing organisation of the educational levels in each system as well as content and nature of curricula. This is followed by detailed description of Tanzanian schools, based on a week's intensive observation in two schools. The description includes historical detail that relates schools' development to both the national and international policy context. Events of the school day are also described, paying particular attention to teachers' interactions with each other and with pupils. Chapter five concentrates almost exclusively on teacher identity in Anglophone Western countries, most especially England. A

review of literature on professionalism and teachers' work suggests that teacher identity is caught between two conflicting ideologies of mass education in England. Government and policy-makers tend to adopt a technical rationalist ideology based on the metaphor of industry. Teachers have traditionally preferred a humanist ideology, which draws on a horticultural metaphor. It is argued that the implications of this dichotomy for teachers' identity and practice is captured in Osborn *et al.*'s (2000) performance and competence models of professionalism.

Findings and discussion chapters 6-9

Continuous with the methodological metaphor of conversation, in chapters six to nine discussion and comparison with England is interspersed with presentation and analysis of findings from fieldwork in Tanzania. Chapter six explores the complex interaction between personal and professional identity through presenting the narratives of three 'focus' teachers. The narratives highlight how context, biography and teachers' collective identity can influence individuals to identify more or less closely with teaching and the construction of a collective identity. Tanzanian teachers' collective professional identity is the subject of chapter seven, where it is treated in terms of relations to other groups. This chapter presents and discusses findings on how teachers perceive their relations with pupils, parents and the surrounding community, education administrators and the government. Although both Tanzanian and English primary school teachers share a belief that they are responsible for both the cognitive and affective development of children, understandings of what caring for the whole child means differ. In both countries teacher-parent relations are often ambiguous but they have an added significance in Tanzania where schools depend on the local community's support. Dissatisfaction with pay and employment conditions is integral to Tanzanian teachers' corporate

identity, as has been found in other Sub Saharan countries (e.g. by Harber & Davies, 1997; Hedges, 2002; Welmond, 2002). A comparison of Tanzanian with English teacher identity leads to theoretical conclusions on how responsibility and accountability work together.

Chapter eight focuses on what is considered to be at the heart of teaching, classroom practice and teachers' educational values. Four observed lessons are described in a format that allows for inter-textual comparison with Alexander (2000). Findings are discussed and compared with England in terms of Bernstein's performance and competence modes. In both countries, there is found to be a tension between competence and performance and each can learn from the dilemmas this poses for the other. In chapter nine, another approach to data analysis is used that looks for patterns in informants' discourses relating to all the themes considered so far. This allows me to roughly divide Tanzanian teachers into four different types. The typology shows how ideas and values are passed down between the generations. Discussion of the typology draws on other research into teacher narrative and identity carried out in Sub Saharan Africa (Jessop & Penny, 1998; Welmond, 2002) leading to a theoretical map of the teacher identity landscape in Tanzania. Policy implications are also drawn from the typology.

Summary chapter 10

The last chapter draws together and summarises the theoretical conclusions of chapters six to nine and their policy implications for both Tanzania and England. The conversation model as an epistemological model for cross-cultural research is reviewed and suggestions are made for further research.

1.5 Summary

In this chapter I have given my reasons for carrying out this study, outlined the research aims, objectives and questions and explained key organising concepts. In doing this I have also positioned the study relative to teacher literature emerging from Anglophonic Western countries and also concerning teachers in low-income countries. I finished by outlining the organisation of the thesis chapters. The next chapter gives a more in-depth explanation of the epistemological framework used in this thesis.

Chapter 2: Research as Conversation: an epistemology

2.0 Introduction

Epistemology, understood as a theory of how knowledge is constructed within the research process, should fit two basic criteria of equal importance. It should fit the purpose of the study and be compatible with the ethical values of the researcher. As the rationale in the first chapter illustrates, my experience and values were formative to the framing of the research aims and objectives so that these two criteria were intermeshed from the very beginning. Likewise, the research aims and objectives also presume an epistemological standpoint, which developed during the course of the research process. What follows is an in-depth explanation of the epistemology framework underpinning this study. Throughout the chapter, I use *methodology* to refer to the logic or reasoning according to which the whole research project is conceptually and practically organised, which includes an epistemological and ethical or value standpoint. *Ontology* refers to a more general theory of being within the social and material world and *method* to a strategy for collecting data, such as unstructured interview or questionnaire.

I start in the first section by giving a very brief overview of methodological approaches within comparative education focussing on supposed divisions and communication in ideas across these divides. In the second section, I move towards outlining the epistemology underpinning this study by explaining the principles of hermeneutic interpretation and Gadamer's rendering of the hermeneutic method in textual analysis into an epistemology that can be extended to the social sciences.

The third section takes Gadamer's dialogic hermeneutics as a starting point for a conceptual model of knowledge construction, in which conversation is used as a metaphor for learning from understandings of teacher identity located within two different cultures.

2.1 Methodology in comparative education: mapping divisions

> Among the devices that we use to impose order upon a complicated (but by no means unstructured) world, classification - or the division of items into categories based on perceived similarities - must rank as the most general and most pervasive of all. And no strategy of classification cuts deeper - while providing such an even balance of benefits and difficulties - than our propensity for division by two, or dichotomy.
>
> Stephen Jay Gould (1997:29-30) *Questioning the Millennium: A rationalist's guide to a precisely arbitrary countdown.*

In order to position this study relative to the field of international and comparative education, I start by mapping out the field's methodological terrain. The "precisely arbitrary" marker of a new millennium inspired from comparative educationalists a review of their field in a special issue of *Comparative Education* (Crossley & Jarvis, 2000), which included a plea from Crossley (2000) for building bridges across traditions. Hence, in order to draw a rough map of comparative education research methodologies (far more comprehensive surveys are provided by Welch, 1999; E. King, 2000; Crossley & Watson, 2003) I focus on the traditional divisions drawn between methodological approaches and their bridging, an approach that is appropriate in the contemporary era of blurring and interbreeding of genres (Lincoln & Guba, 2000:164).

Social scientists are as susceptible to recourse to dichotomy as Gould observes the rest of humanity to be. This manifests itself in the commonplace division of methodologies into quantitative and qualitative approaches. The properties

commonly associated with each are displayed in table 2.1 below. The collection of statistical data is associated with positivist ontologies and the collection of qualitative data, such as verbal or descriptive accounts, with interpretivism. However, a division based on nature of data is considered by many as over-simplistic and fails to accommodate recently developed and highly sophisticated computational modelling and statistical techniques, such as multi-level analysis (Vulliamy, 2004:272-274). Guba & Lincoln (2000) argue that a schism does exist across which it is not possible to have meaningful dialogue but this has less to do with method or data than "metaphysical and moral beliefs" (Carr, 1995:88). Within positivist ontologies, social reality is deterministic and hence, social phenomena can be assumed to follow cause and effect relations. Consequently, positivists aim to eliminate subjectivity and improve methods to arrive at a perspective that is as close as possible to objective. Interpretivist approaches, on the other hand, view all social knowledge, including that arrived at through research, as being partial and subjective because it is socially situated. For interpretivists, there is no such thing as an objective platform from which to observe the social world. Subjectivity is not an obstacle to be eradicated but rather the means by which we construct social knowledge.

Table 2.1: Features associated with quantitative and qualitative research approaches

Quantitative	Qualitative
statistical data	verbal accounts
Social science as science	Social science as art/humanities
positivist	interpretivist
realist	idealist
closed systems	complex open systems
replications	single case
hypothesis testing	exploratory
objectivity	subjectivity
generalisation	particularisation

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When looked at closely, however, the boundary between positivism and interpretivism is far from clear cut. Social theorists such as Weber (Shields, 1996:279-80), Dilthey and Habermas (Giddens, 1977) have attempted in different ways to reconcile interpretation with the presumption of causal relations. Positivists working with large sets of statistical data defer the messy business of interpretation to the point where they explain the meaning of whatever correlations they may have found. Interpretivists theorise causal relations as complex and in flux. Neither is the philosophical division between a realist, who admits limitations in our ability to measure the complexity but keeps seeking to improve method, and a hermeneutic interpretivist, who accepts all knowledge as subjective but seeks to improve understanding, as impregnable as Guba & Lincoln suggest. Vulliamy (2004:274) observes that complex realists using computational modelling techniques to study the single case and ethnographers, whose epistemological origins lie in phenomenology, have more in common with each other than the former has with "naïve positivists" or the latter with anti-realist postmodernists. Vulliamy implies that the more essential division is between realist ontologies that maintain there is a social reality, even if our knowledge of it is always partial, and a postmodernist view of social reality as purely textually constructed.

Welch (1999), however, argues that critical dialogue between functionalism and poststructuralism *is* the way forward for comparative education. In his review of comparative education methodologies, Welch identifies positivism with a functionalist borrowing of natural science epistemologies, during the fifties and sixties. Despite the preponderance of a particularly restricted understanding of scientific methodology

linked to an assumption of the superiority of Western civilisation derived from evolutionary theories in the biological sciences, he advises that the enlightenment project, with its concern for social justice, should not be rejected outright. He describes poststructuralism as the displacement of meta-narrative, applauds the space it allows for agency and its aspirations to site difference centre-stage. He criticises the postmodernist preoccupation with language to the exclusion of substance and is most comfortable with postcolonialism because of its moral sense of direction. Nonetheless, he believes there is much to be gained by combining modernist concerns with social justice with the postmodernist challenge to hegemony and meta-narrative. In practice, Ninnes & Burnett (2003) found that comparative education researchers have only responded to Rust's (1991) call to take up postmodernist approaches to a very limited extent. However, an increasing number of writers are finding that postcolonial perspectives have an immediate relevance for comparative education, as demonstrated in a recent special issue of Comparative Education (Crossley & Tikly, 2004). Like Welch, Crossley & Watson (2003:27) also complain of the *dominance* of a positivist scientific approach, however, they trace its route into comparative education through economics and political science. At the current time, Vulliamy (2004) warns of its return to dominance within British government funded research, this time transferred over from health science. It would seem then that comparative education faces the perennial danger of imbalance in favour of one particular strand of positivistic research that aims to derive generalisable laws from statistics and happens to be associated with the politically influential disciplines of economics and health science. However, it is over-simplistic to equate this to a schism between the collection of qualitative and quantitative data, between positivist and interpretivist epistemologies or even realist and postmodernist

ontologies.

Health science occupies an overlap between social and natural sciences and Economics is the most mathematical of the social sciences, which in each case makes it easier to presume principles of value-neutrality and objectivity. By contrast, Carr (1995) maintains that all educational research necessarily involves commitment to some educational philosophy and hence educational values, whether these are explicitly stated or taken for granted. That different understandings of the value-basis of social research can cause a breakdown of dialogue is demonstrated by the exchange between Lauglo (1996) and Samoff (1996) on one hand and Burnett & Patrinos (1996) on the other over the validity of World Bank research (World Bank, 1995). As far as Burnett & Patrinos (1996) were concerned the World Bank research was methodologically sound and therefore presented valid knowledge that if applied to policy-making in low-income countries would lead to educational and economic improvement. They were baffled by Lauglo and Samoff's political critique of a research approach founded in Western Economics. For Lauglo and Samoff, the methodology of any research targeted at policy is political. The implicit assumption that national economic improvements would generate socio-cultural benefits was to them political, not self-evident and therefore open to challenge.

Interpretive understanding of knowledge as subjective is also susceptible to division by two into critical theory and hermeneutic approaches (e.g. Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Usher, 1996). The explicit statement of values and alignment with a political agenda linked to an emancipatory theory of society such as Marxism, feminism or action research is a feature of critical theory approaches (Guba & Lincoln, 1994:109).

Critical theorists are realists in that they assume "a concept of social structure that exists beyond the actor's perception of it" (Masemann, 1982:9). They also share interpretivists' understanding that the political and moral beliefs of the researcher are integral to the framing and practice of research. Hermeneutics views social knowledge as socially constructed and subject to continuous revision through social interactions. In constructing knowledge, the researcher uses his or her preconceptions at the same time as revising these. Meaning is embedded in cultural context or shared interpretive frameworks, so that the researcher is caught in a hermeneutic cycle of interpreting meaning and using meaning to construct an understanding of context. Constructivism, as it is presented by Guba & Lincoln (1994), may be regarded as a recent reworking of the hermeneutic tradition influenced by postmodernist perspectives on power relations within research. Critical theory runs the risk of inappropriately imposing theories generated in one context on another, as occurred with some Marxist models of political development in Sub Saharan Africa (e.g. Rodney, 1972/1989). Constructivism, as a postmodern rendering of hermeneutics, is vulnerable to the allegation of moral relativism whereas earlier Germanic hermeneutic traditions tend to conservatism. Some comparativists have avoided these risks by interbreeding the two genres. For example, Vandra Masemann fused the strengths of each in her methodology of critical ethnography, in which ethnographic methods of hermeneutic interpretation were used for analysis at the micro-level and Neo-Marxist meta-theories employed to relate micro and macro-levels (Masemann, 1982). Fox (1999) also reconciles critical theory and interpretive approaches. She draws on the work of Habermas, Gadamer and postcolonial theorists to formulate an epistemological basis for cross-cultural inquiry into education and inquiry that is similar in its main points to the epistemological model I

lay out below.

2.2 Hermeneutics as epistemology

Methodological presuppositions are integral to the framing of research. Hence, the epistemological positioning of this study has been influenced by the same three factors of personal biography, values and literature, which shaped the conceptualisation of the study as a whole. The inclusion of literature in the list of influences signals that research is a contextually and temporally located activity. Inevitably, my methodological approach and the terminology in which it is expressed is in part a function of the methodological fashions of the time and place (field of study, location of university) in which it is carried out. With respect to personal biography, being an early career researcher has elicited from me a tentative wait-and-see approach to theory. Becoming more familiar with theory has been part of the research process and, at the point of conceptualisation, I was not prepared to pin my colours to a particular theory before being satisfied that it made sense in the light of my practitioner and research experience. This might seem to suggest a grounded interpretive approach. However, theoretical tentativeness does not preclude preconceptions. Part of learning about theory is finding other people's words to express my unarticulated beliefs and values. Hence, if my approach is "grounded" it is not in the commonly used sense of emerging from data but emerging from an interlocked process of 'doing research' and engaging with theory.

In the previous chapter, I defined teacher identity as "constructed out of teachers' perceptions of their relations with and responsibilities towards others and their reactions to how others perceive them" (p.13). Hence the aim of the study is to understand teachers' individual and collective subjective views concerning their

responsibilities, relations and status. Thus framed, the study is concerned with *Verstehen*, an understanding of insiders' subjective views arrived at through interpretation of their actions, including what they say, which in turns demands an understanding of their social context. In other words, the methodology is firmly located within hermeneutics and of particular relevance are ethnographic versions of hermeneutic interpretation. However, the overall aim of the study is concerned with comparison between knowledge constructed through empirical research and literature from England. Dialogic hermeneutic construction of knowledge is presumed at the level of theory, which I have explained as adopting a model of research as conversation. Implicit to this framework is a value-based stand on the conditions for cross-cultural communication. The starting point for this conversation model is Gadamer's dialogic hermeneutics, although it also draws on other theories of dialogue and identity. As Giddens points out, "there is a universality to hermeneutics" (Giddens, 1976:68) that allows it to be used alongside other approaches.

2.2.1 The hermeneutic cycle

If positivism looks to the natural sciences then hermeneutics looks to the humanities and has a history that is at least as long, stretching back to textual interpretation of scriptures before the enlightenment philosophies seriously challenged religious authority. The hermeneutic principle, which has been applied to textual analysis, history and social science, can be simply stated as: to understand the whole requires understanding the parts and to understand the parts it is necessary to understand the whole. Therefore, in the case of a text, to understand its meaning we have first to read the constituent sentences but the individual sentences are given meaning by their context. When this principle is applied to the social sciences, we become

involved in what Giddens termed 'a double hermeneutic' (1976:158). Human action, including speech, has meaning within a socially constructed interpretive framework, which itself is continually being reconstructed and re-negotiated through human actions. The 'double hermeneutic' task of the social inquirer is to interpret the interpretive framework in order to re-construct socially constructed meaning.

Gadamer (1975) turned the hermenuetic method into an epistemology by insisting that it is a condition of mortal existence that all knowledge is partial. As human beings we are situated in a particular cultural tradition and as such are unavoidably prejudiced. There is no intellectual discipline or method that allows us to transcend the prejudice we bring to *verstehen*, the understanding of others subjective views. Gadamer did not believe that prejudice was an entirely negative attribute, for the same tradition and upbringing which circumscribes our understanding of the social world also equips us with the capacity to understand it. In the words of Baumann:

> Any intellect, however powerful, sets about its work loaded with its own past, this past is simultaneously its liability and its asset. Thanks to its past, the intellect is able to see; because of it, it is bound to remain partially blind. (Baumann, 1978:225)

In chapter one, I showed how my practitioner experience as a secondary teacher in Tanzania gave rise to the initial spark for this study in the form of a conviction that Tanzanian teachers are motivated by educational values. However, this background may also cause me to share taken-for-granted assumptions with informants in this study and hence blind me to aspects of Tanzanian teacher identity that a complete outsider would consider worthy of investigation. Similarly, whilst reading about teachers in England and Wales may have led to bias in how I went about research in Tanzania, it also facilitated the inquiry by providing a conceptual toolkit.

2.2.2 *Gadamer's dialogic hermeneutics*

Gadamer's insistence that all knowledge is partial undermines the basis for privileging any one person's knowledge over another and hence leads him to a description of conversation that is inherently respectful. According to Gadamer, in a conversation all participants agree on the subject matter and, ideally, it is the subject matter rather than the participants that "conduct" the conversation (Gadamer, 1975:345). To paraphrase, we do not lead a conversation but are drawn into it. At the outset, each participant perceives the subject matter according to their pre-understanding, or, to use Gadamer's words, from within their own horizon. The person who is listening should adopt an openness or "good will" to the speaker. Gadamer also terms this an "anticipation of completeness" (Warnke, 1987:82), which requires a recognition of one's own fallibility. This means that whoever is listening is ready to acknowledge that their own understanding may be incomplete. In effect, the listener agrees to suspend disbelief until the completeness of the speaker's perspective is evident. In this way, the listener allows space for the hermeneutic process of constructing the whole from the parts and interpreting the parts in context of the whole. Gadamer emphasises his description of conversation by drawing a contrast with argument. In an argument, where participants aim to outwit each other, they look for weaknesses in the other's position, whereas in a conversation they look for the strengths (Gadamer, 1975:331).

What emerges at the end of a conversation is not the pre-understanding of either participant but a new understanding, forged through a fusion of horizons. Understanding does not belong to either participant but to the conversation. This is known as *intersubjectivity*, where knowledge is created through interaction. The aim

of dialogue is consensus, where consensus is not always the same thing as concurring but may mean participants agree to disagree (Warnke, 1987:103). Nonetheless, in so far as they integrate the other's perspective into their own understanding of the subject matter, they have arrived at a 'fusion of horizons'. The purpose of conversation is not to understand the other participant but the truth in what is said:

> Thus it is the characteristic of every true conversation that each opens himself to the other person, truly accepts his point of view as worthy of consideration and gets inside the other to such an extent that he understands not a particular individual, but what he says. (Gadamer, 1975:347)

Let's use an example from this study's data. An informant rather mournfully related a story of how the flowers she planted last year had died because the school's supply of water was raided by neighbours. If Gadamer were to interpret this, he might be interested in what this tells us about teachers' responsibilities for the school compound, resourcing of schools or the school's relations with the community. He did not accept what Schleiermacher termed psychological analysis, i.e. the interpretation of the author's state of mind, as the proper goal of hermeneutic interpretation. Hence, he would not have looked for a personal pattern of initial enthusiasm giving into disappointment and eventually disillusion in response to a material context of scarcity. However, he did admit that if conversants fail to agree on truth content by listening only to what is said, i.e. through grammatical and linguistic analysis, then hermeneutic interpretation may extend to psychological analysis of the other and technical analysis of their cultural context. Understanding, at least partially, the particular individual and his or her context can be a step towards understanding what they say. In other words, he accepted divining authorial intent as a method but not as an epistemology and considered it to be an intellectual, rather than emotional or empathic, activity.

2.2.3 *Strengths and limitations of dialogic hermeneutics applied to method*

The strength of Gadamer's dialogic hermeneutics lies in its description of the necessary conditions for conversation. His concept of "anticipation of completeness", applied to the researcher-informant relationship demands that the researcher listen on the informant's terms. This does not preclude asking questions, which Gadamer considered to be vital to conversation, but it does require a certain humility, Gadamer's "recognition of our fallibility" or *docta ignoranta* (Warnke, 1987:100). To an extent, this is the ordinary respect for the other, which Lincoln (1995), using the term "sacredness", has recognised as a characteristic of all "good" qualitative research. Alexander in his international comparative study of primary education, provides us with an example of applying this respectful sense of humility in international and comparative research:

> Nobody embarking on a study of education in countries and cultures other than their own does so (or at least nobody ought to do so) without being acutely aware of how little, despite their best endeavours, they end up knowing. (Alexander, 2000:3)

Alexander thus reminds us that the very fact that we cannot achieve empathetic identification through research demands a respect for participants' knowledge and recognition of the fallibility of our prior knowledge and limitations to our ability to interpret.

Gadamer models conversation as being conducted between equals *both* interested in improving their knowledge of the subject matter through their interaction. This does not necessarily reflect the inherently asymmetric interests of researcher and informant towards knowledge production in research, with the possible exception of participative or action research. In other words, Gadamer's dialogic hermeneutics as a method for analysis of speech action is flawed because it neglects the relational

embedded-ness of human action. For this reason Habermas criticised Gadamer's description of conversation for "linguistic idealism" (Warnke, 1987; Outhwaite, 1994:25). In his own 'Theory of Communicative Action', Habermas classified speech into four categories - *teleological action*, *normatively regulative action*, *dramaturgical action* and *communicative action* (Habermas, 1996b). *Teleological action* is carried out in order to achieve some desired end. *Strategic action* is a subset of teleological action where the author intends to manipulate others in order to bring about the desired end. In *normatively regulated action*, the actor conforms to collectively imposed norms of behaviour. *Dramaturgical action* is where the actor consciously presents him/herself before an audience by monitoring access to his intentions, motivations or opinions. Finally, Habermas' *communicative action* corresponds to Gadamer's 'conversation', with the conditions more rigourously defined, to the extent that it assumes conversants to have a common cultural background (Fox, 1999:136).

Habermas made a second criticism of Gadamer's dialogic hermeneutics, saying that it also neglected the possibility of "systematic distortion" arising from the unrecognised influence of a predominant ideology on all parties to a conversation (Warnke, 1987; Outhwaite, 1994:25). One of the reasons for carrying out cross-cultural research is that it can draw attention to taken-for-granted ideologies that pervade one but not the other cultures. Nonetheless, Habermas' critique is pertinent to a comparison between Tanzania and England. Systematic ideological distortion can arise from the historic and current hegemony of Western notions of good teaching practice and professionalism within international development discourse. Staging an equal conversation requires a critical awareness of this unequal context, the fact that it may influence how informants represent themselves to the researcher

and the researcher's interpretation of informants' speech action.

2.3 Conversation as an epistemological model for cross-cultural comparison

2.3.1 Strengths and limitations of dialogic hermeneutics as an epistemology

Gadamer applied his dialogic hermeneutics to the interpretation of historical texts and the traditions they represent in the light of our present day circumstances. It may also be applied to comparison of the contemporary understandings of two different cultural groups. This is because, in relegating understanding authorial intention to method, Gadamer disallows the objectification of one conversant by the other as a route to knowledge construction. Hence, he avoids the pitfalls of what Shields calls "empathy predicated on synthesis":

> This form of empathy silences or suffocates the Other by masking the difficulty which lies in the difference between Self (investigator) and Other (respondent or subject of investigation). (Shields, 1996:281)

Applying the model to this study, the conversants are the collective identity of teachers, as arrived at through empirical research, on one hand and English models of teacher identity to be found in the literature, on the other. Theoretical discussion within the study should aim to create the ideal conditions for conversation, as modelled within Gadamer's dialogic hermeneutics. This is not to deny that in creating such a platform, I am both aided and obstructed by my own prejudices or pre-understandings.

Where Gadamer's dialogic hermeneutics falls down is in its underdeveloped conceptualisation of "fusion of horizons" and the authority it gives to "consensus". The fusion between text and interpreter is a partial perspective that is different and

superior to both the pre-understanding of the interpreter or traditional truth claims contained in the text. Rather like cold temperature physicists' attempts to reach absolute zero, social inquirers move closer to the truth in incremental steps through successive fusions of horizons but can never attain it. Warnke (1987:103-6) argues that Gadamer fails to adequately distinguish between consensus as arriving at the same judgement and consensus as reflective, critical understanding which need not include substantive agreement. Hence, there is a danger that when applied to historical texts fusion becomes a retrograde return to acquiescence with the tradition that has historically shaped our prejudices in the first place. Warnke's critique owes much to Habermas' concern that dialogic hermeneutics is vulnerable to 'systematic ideological distortion' by social structures that are opaque to an interpreter situated within the society s/he is interpreting. This has an implication for epistemology as well as method, discussed above, within this study. A consensus between English and Tanzanian models of teacher identity may be blind to the shared prejudices derived from the historical inter-relationship between the two countries. Habermas suggested that social theory be used as a "reference system" for revealing ideological distortion:

> Thus for any theory, linking up with the history of theory is also a kind of test; the more freely it can take up, explain, criticize, and carry on the intentions of earlier theory traditions, the more impervious it is to the danger that particular interests are being brought to bear unnoticed in its own theoretical perspective. (Habermas, 1996a:158)

However, this takes us back to a progressive model of theory development not very different from Gadamer's. Comparativists, who work across cultures and sometimes academic disciplines, and poststructuralists, who have challenged the monologue of modernism, may well ask with which history or theory should they link up.

2.3.2 *Bakhtin's dialogics and understanding through difference*

Bakhtin pre-dated Gadamer in his use of dialogics as a metaphor for textual interpretation. His interest was in literary, rather than philosophical or sociological texts. This, together with his experience of living under a totalitarian regime in interbellum Russia, made him aware of a multiplicity of genres in speech and literature (Bakhtin, 1999). Bakhtin focussed on the role of difference rather than consensus within interpretation:

> A meaning only reveals its depths once it has encountered and come into contact with another, foreign meaning: they engage in a kind of dialogue, which surmounts the closedness and one-sidedness of these particular meanings, these cultures. We raise new questions for a foreign culture, ones that it did not raise itself; we seek answers to our questions in it; and the foreign culture responds to us by revealing to us its new aspects and new semantic depths. Without *one's own* questions one cannot creatively understand anything other ... . Such a dialogic encounter of two cultures does not result in merging or mixing. Each retains its own unity and *open* totality, but they are mutually enriched. (Bakhtin, 1986b:7 cited in Shields, 1996:288)

This process is familiar to any teacher, who has experienced coming to a deeper understanding of subject matter through the process of communicating it to students. It is also familiar to comparative education researchers, who have long recognised that comparison with an unfamiliar education system gives insight into a familiar one. Borrowing from anthropologists, they pithily describe this as making the strange familiar and familiar strange (e.g. Broadfoot, 2000:363). Insight gained through an encounter with difference is what Stenhouse (1979:8) termed "the comparative base for critical interpretation".

Bakhtin, like Gadamer, believes that no conversant can fully understand the position of the other because they occupy different perspectives. However, he goes further by describing how this gives rise to a creative potential for ongoing dialogue at the same time as preserving the uniqueness or identity of each participant. As Shields

explains:

> Understanding is a liminal phenomenon which takes place on the threshold of self and other, at the point of contact between embodied subjects positioned in a material context. ... As such it encompasses neither the other person that one wishes to understand, nor does it exhaust one's own potential for further interpretation. There is always a 'supplement' which eludes the interpreter, hence the possibility for further interpretive efforts at understanding. The incompleteness and inadequacy of an interpretation renders it unstable. Its status as a boundary-phenomenon makes it multi-sided and contingent, for as the threshold and context of the relation between self and other, interpreter and respondent, shifts, so must the interpretation. (Shields, 1996:286-7)

Hence, the interpretative task is ongoing but far from being an endless unidirectional march towards degree zero, it creates new directions for future dialogue. Gadamer's constructs of 'recognition of fallibility' and 'anticipation of completeness' provide the conversation model with its necessary conditions. Bakhtin demystifies the process by which differences between conversants creates the potential for either or both to deepen their understanding.

2.3.3 Hall and the identity of conversants

A conversation model of knowledge creation in research can draw on Gadamer's constructs of 'recognition of fallibility' and 'anticipation of completeness' as a descriptions of the conditions for conversation. Bakhtin demystifies the process by which differences between conversants create the potential for either or both to deepen their understanding and eliminates the need for an endpoint to dialogue. To complete the conversation model, what is needed is a conceptualisation of the theoretical conversants, in this case two versions of teacher identity from two different countries arrived at through different methods. For this, I turn to Stuart Hall's (2003) account of identity and difference. Hall, like Bakhtin, sees identity as multi-voiced, non-essentialist and always changing. Hence, he describes cultural identity as a " 'production' which is never complete" (Hall, 2003:234), "a matter of

'becoming' as well as 'being' " (Hall, 2003:236). Difference is not only located at the "threshold of self and other" but is also interior to identity. Hence, members of the African diaspora share a cultural identity which is as much predicated on difference, the different countries between which they are dispersed, the different African tribes, religions and languages from which they originated, as it is on their common history of enforced migration. Hall borrows Derrida's anomalous way of writing 'difference' – *différance*, a word that shades differ into defer - to capture how difference within identity generates movement of identity:

> This second sense of difference challenges the fixed binaries that stabilize meaning and representation and show how meaning is never finished or completed, but keeps on moving to encompass other, additional, or supplementary meanings" (Hall, 2003:239).

Hence, the incompleteness of interpretation is replicated in identity, only to be iterated in the representation of identity:

> [W]hat is then constituted within representation is always open to being deferred, staggered, serialized. (Hall, 2003:239)

Hall's account of Caribbean identity provides a parallel for conceptualising the occupational identity of primary school teachers. Collective identity is not a monolithic blanket covering over the uniqueness of the diverse individuals, who enter teaching from various socio-cultural, ethnic and tribal backgrounds. Rather it is the product of this diversity threaded together by commonality of occupation. It is not fixed but continuously being re-negotiated through its interior conversations and dialogue with formations of teacher identity from other parts of the world, encountered through research, policy, media and the development industry.

2.4 Summary of conversation model

The conversation model drawn up for the process of knowledge construction within

this thesis may be summarised as follows:

1. The conversation is being conducted between Tanzanian teachers' perceptions of their occupational identity arrived at through empirical research and models of teacher identity found in the literature on English teachers;

2. In a conversation, each of the conversants meet on an equal basis, there is no sense in which either is superior to and hence able to objectify the other. This requires an 'anticipation of completeness' that allows the logic of each to be represented without peremptory judgement according to the values of the other;

3. The difference between the two creates the potential to learn from comparison, arriving at new understandings of teacher identity for England, for Tanzania and generically whilst still recognising the uniqueness of English and Tanzanian primary school teachers' identity;

4. Teacher identity in England and in Tanzania is understood not as monolithic and stable but as the product of ongoing dialogue between different individuals and collectives and hence, always in a state of becoming. Identity, its interpretation and its representation are always incomplete;

5. As the author of the research I am responsible for creating the conditions

for conversation. I cannot, however, create a neutral platform on which to stage the conversation but rather use my pre-understandings and values to facilitate the conversation. Hence, the conversation is both enabled and distorted by my prejudices.

The conversation model is intended as an epistemological model for the construction of knowledge within this particular research project. Beyond this, it has limited relevance for conversation as a research method and the analysis of data. The conditions for conversation explained in point (2) applies equally to conversations for data collection with the the proviso that interviewer and interviewee in a research interview do not necessarily have an equal interest in the subject matter. Approaching the subject matter as researcher and practitioner respectively, their interests are differently oriented. Speech action is rarely as symmetrical as the dialogic model drawn up implies because it is embedded in relations and relations are power-loaded. This needs to be remembered during analysis of speech data, when it becomes necessary to differentiate between the types of speech action identified by Habermas. Ultimately, *author*ity in analysis and presentation of findings lies with the author, who is bound by the ethical norms of the social research community. However, the concept of identity in point (4) also serves as a model for data analysis, a process by which speech data from a polyphonic group of informants is reconstructed into a distinctive definition of teacher identity. Analysis then involves the mediation between *différance* and consensus within an "interpretive community" (Casey, 1995-1996:223) of informants. These are some of the issues that are considered in more depth in the next chapter, which lays out the research design for fieldwork in Tanzania and data analysis.

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Chapter 3: Design of Data Collection and Analysis

3.0 Introduction

The empirical component of the research draws its methodological inspiration from a genre of qualitative research in comparative education, which may be traced back to Lawrence Stenhouse's "call to description", later taken up by Crossley & Vulliamy (1984). However, in line with the 'conversation model' of epistemology, there is also extensive use of dialogue or interview as method. The research activities aimed to arrive at an account of Tanzanian primary school teacher identity by eliciting teachers' own perceptions of their work, responsibilities and relations with others and through observation of their working context and practice. The most obvious way to get at people's perceptions is to talk to them and qualitative interviews form a central plank in the research design. However, teachers' perceptions of their work cannot be treated in isolation from their material, organisational and social contexts and hence, interviews need to be supported by observation and description. For this reason, I follow in the footsteps of Alexander (2000), albeit in a much smaller study, in using school-based case study to gain insight into the culture and organisation of schools, as well as the influence of social environment on teachers.

Fieldwork was conducted in two stages corresponding to two visits to Tanzania, one from September to November 2002 and the other April to May 2003. This meant that the second stage could be adapted in response to emerging findings from the first stage, introducing another degree of flexibility into the research design. The core data collection carried out during stage one consisted of one-to-one semi-structured interviews with thirty-four teachers. These were supported by one week's intensive

observation in each of two 'focus' schools, which taken together constitute a dual-site case study. Findings from the case study are included in the following chapter as part of a description of context in Tanzania. During the second stage, findings emerging from analysis of interview data were presented to groups of teachers and education officers, including inspectors, who were invited to discuss these. This was both a way of building reciprocity into the research design and 'triangulating' findings. In addition, I invited three teachers, who I knew from stage one, to be 'focus' teachers. I met with each one for a series of three unstructured interviews and observed their classroom practice. These generated personal narratives that I have used to illustrate the interaction between personal and professional identity in chapter six. All data collection activities were carried out by the author and, with the exception of one interview with a school chairman, through the medium of Swahili.

The chapter starts with a rationale for using qualitative methods. The second section gives an outline of the research design, describing the geographic location of the research, procedures followed for negotiating access, methods of data collection and how data were analysed to produce later chapters. The third section relates the style of interviewing to that used in other research on teachers (e.g. Davies, 1997; Acker, 1999; Schweisfurth, 1999) and considers the conceptualisation of the case study. The fourth section discusses in greater depth the analysis of speech data, mostly collected in interviews but also from casual conversations during the case study. The methods for analysis are related back to the epistemological conversation model, outlined in chapter two. The last section is a reflection on the role of ethics within education research, illustrated with discussion of two ethical dilemmas that arose in the course of data collection, one relating to disruption of lessons and the

other to the practice of reciprocity.

3.1 Rationale for use of qualitative methods

This inquiry may be located within two educational research traditions. The first is concerned with teachers' work and voice and is largely located within high-income countries (e.g.Nias, 1989; Goodson, 1992a; Osborn *et al.*, 2000). The second is that of comparative and international education concerned with theoretical and methodological issues of cross-cultural research (e.g. Arnove & Torres, 1999; Crossley with Jarvis, 2001), including literature aimed at the 'developing' country context (e.g. Vulliamy *et al.*, 1990; Crossley & Vulliamy, 1997b) and tackling the implications of low- and high-income countries' relations for education research (e.g. K. King, 1991; Dzvimbo, 1994; Brock-Utne, 1996). Recently, several studies carried out in Sub Saharan Africa have combined these two traditions (e.g. Jessop & Penny, 1998; Harley *et al.*, 2000), in a move characteristic of the tendency for research in low-income countries to draw upon methodological and theoretical debates initiated in the West.

Overwhelmingly, research investigating teachers' perceptions has made use of largely qualitative strategies. Exceptions tend to be in the tightly defined area of job satisfaction (e.g. Weiss, 1999; Hean & Garrett, 2001) or large-scale surveys carried out by teams of researchers (e.g. Menlo & Poppleton, 1990). A far more common approach is to combine small-scale questionnaire surveys with qualitative strategies, such as interviews and classroom observation (e.g. Broadfoot & Osborn, 1993; Coultas & Lewin, 2002). Other studies, concerned with teachers' voice or identities have used interviews as the sole data collection strategy (e.g. Cole, 1985; Nias, 1989). However, researchers working in a culture or country, which is not their own,

often prefer to support talk with observation (e.g. Schweisfurth, 1999; Harley *et al.*, 2000). Ethnographic studies, such as Acker's (1999) study of an English primary school and Prophet's (1995) evaluation of an innovation in Botswanan junior secondary schools, allow researchers to observe not only teachers' classroom practice but also their interactions in and around the school compound, and to discuss with teachers aspects of their experiences and practice 'on the spot'.

By contrast, the life history approach, as described by Woods (1985), concentrates almost entirely on the teachers' view of their work. It involves working intensely with one teacher or a small number of teachers to reconstruct their personal professional biographies, usually through the use of interviews and reflective journals (e.g. Middleton, 1989; Barone, 1997). This involves the teacher in an extended exercise of self-reflection and requires a high degree of cooperation between the researcher and teacher, which may run to co-authorship of the research, as discussed by Woods (1996:79). A few recent studies have applied the 'biographical turn' in research on teachers to African contexts but using less intense strategies and involving larger numbers of subjects than is typical of the life history genre (e.g. Osler, 1997; Akyeampong & Stephens, 2002).

A key theme of this study is the effect of micro- and macro-level context on teachers' perceptions of their work. Comparativists, for whom context is vitally important (Crossley, 2001), have pointed out the value of qualitative methodologies for yielding descriptive contextual data (e.g. Stenhouse, 1979; E. King, 1989). In low-income countries the gulf between formal and implemented policy, a universal feature of all education systems, reaches proportions that are barely imaginable in industrialised

nations as highly centralised administrations lack resources to communicate innovations to schools, much less monitor their implementation. In such circumstances, ethnographic techniques may be the only means to observe what actually takes place within schools (Crossley & Vulliamy, 1984:197).

The dialogic hermeneutic underpinning of this study, which models the research process on a conversation, necessitates a qualitative methodology, which is flexible and hence responsive to the expectations of informants and emerging findings. This does not necessarily exclude the use of quantitative *methods*. Questionnaires may be dialogically constructed in collaboration with practitioners so that their embedded interpretative framework is a fusion of the researcher's understanding and that of representatives from the target population. As mentioned above, other researchers have combined questionnaires, which can be delivered to a large sample, with qualitative methods which elicit detailed information from a much smaller sample. However, the requirement that the research design be practically feasible effectively rules out quantitative methods as these nearly always require a large sample population. Administering a questionnaire to a geographically dispersed population ina country with an extremely poor infrastructure is simply not possible without the exclusive use of a four wheel drive vehicle for several weeks. Quantitative methods are in short a far too ponderous and resource intensive approach for a "lone ranger" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998:71) postgraduate researcher. Qualitative methods, which aim to collect detailed information from a small sample or single case, are an affordable and sustainable option. Their inherent flexibility is well suited to the needs of the visiting researcher, who is dependent on the voluntary assistance of busy people.

3.2 Outline of research design

3.2.1 Geography of research

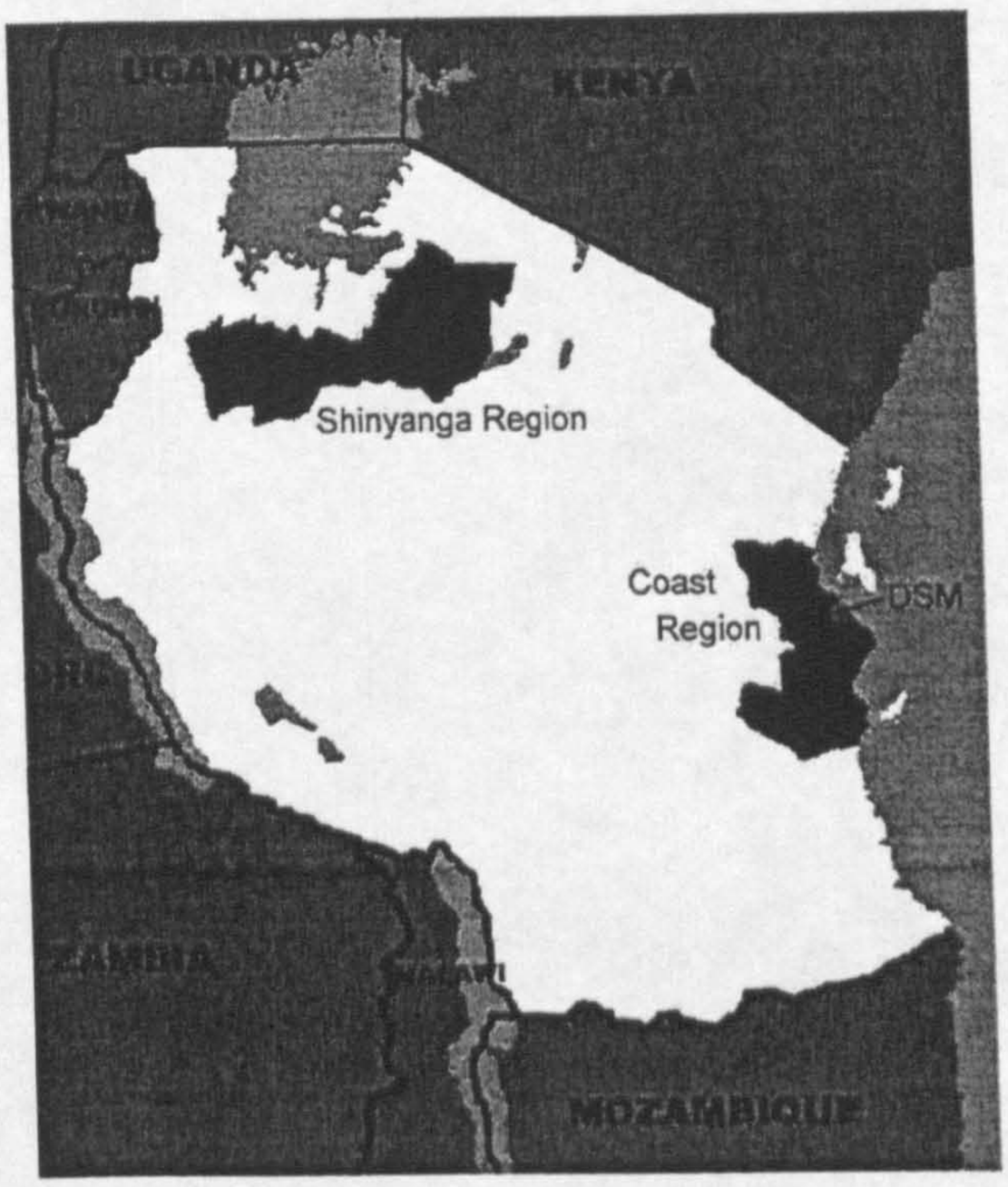
Tanzania has a pyramid system of governance with five tiers - national, regional, district, division and ward level. The district and ward levels are most prominent in the local administration of education (see appendix 3.2). A ward has between four and twelve primary schools for which there is a single Ward Education Coordinator (WEC). The District Education Officers (DEOs) oversee around one hundred schools, allocating funds, appointing staff, selecting participants for in-service training, monitoring school performance and quality. School inspectors, although independent of DEOs, are also district-based. The research was carried out in two of Tanzania Mainland's twenty regions (from 2003 there are twenty-one regions), Shinyanga and Coast Region (also known as Pwani). Shinyanga is in the central northern part of the country (see fig. 3.1). It is consistently the worst performing region in the country with respect to statistical indicators collected by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC), such as enrolment ratios, pupil teacher ratios, shortfall of classrooms, results in the Primary School Leaving Examinations (PSLE) (MoEC, 1997, 2002). The majority of the population belong to Tanzania's largest tribe, the Sukuma, and outside of a few urban and mining centres the Sukuma language is widely spoken as a first language. The main economic activity is small-hold farming combining agriculture with livestock rearing. The 1988 national census suggested that around 97% of the region's population live in villages where social economic services like housing, water, health services and transportation are unsatisfactory (URT, 1996, 1999b). Two districts, Shinyanga Municipality and Shinyanga Rural, were visited. With the exception of two schools in Shinyanga town,

all the schools visited served peasant communities where most people's mother tongue is Sukuma. The ethnic make-up of the teachers interviewed was far more varied than that of the population as a whole and although those who had served for many years in Shinyanga villages had picked up some Sukuma, for most it was not a first language. Christianity was the most common religion amongst local populations and teachers.

Coast Region surrounds but does not include Dar es Salaam, the economic capital of Tanzania. Despite its proximity to the capital, it is one of Tanzania's poorest regions. Socio-economic welfare varies greatly from district to district and more locally depending primarily on distance from main roads linking Dar es Salaam to the regions. Kibaha and Mkuranga Districts were visited. The schools visited in Kibaha Districts were all large town schools within two kilometres of the main Dar es Salaam to Dodoma Road (centrally located Dodoma is the political capital of Tanzania). Local enrolment ratios were very close to universal and pupils came from variously wealthy urban households and nearby villages. By contrast, enrolment ratios for Mkuranga district are exceptionally low, the net enrolment ratio (NER) being estimated at 22% in 2001. One reason for this is the dispersed provision of schools, which means on average pupils walk more than 3 km to school (Dachi & Garrett, 2003:18). The dominant economic activity is small-hold farming or petty trade delivering local produce, such as coconut, cassava and charcoal, to Dar es Salaam. As Swahili originates from the coastal areas of East Africa it is widely spoken as a first language in Coast Region and Islam, the traditional religion of the Swahili people, dominates. All except one of the schools visited in Mkuranga District served village communities, despite two others being located on a main road. As in

Shinyanga, teachers were more ethnically mixed than the communities they served and a much greater proportion were Christian of various denominations.

Fig. 3.1. Map of Tanzania showing Shinyanga and Coast regions
Dar es Salaam is indicated as DSM



3.2.2 Negotiating access

Although flexibility was built into the research design, prior to entering the field I had heeded the advice of Vulliamy and carefully prepared for the interviews and case study:

> While the precise nature of qualitative research cannot be pre-specified, and whilst many of the most interesting issues for analysis do emerge during the study, it is nevertheless essential to begin with some kind of framework for the research. Firstly, those promoting the research and those being studied have a reasonable expectation that they should know in advance what is going to be involved. Secondly, perhaps more important, without a realistic set of guidelines at the outset of the study, researchers are in danger of wasting valuable time and energy once in the field. (Vulliamy *et al.*, 1990:45)

As Vulliamy suggests, having a rationale and an outline plan helped to demonstrate

that the research had been well-prepared and was worthwhile. Drawing up an interview schedules and observation schedules clarified translation of the research questions into method (see appendix 1.3 for the original interview schedule). However, the original schedules were quickly superseded by simpler handwritten notes, which were easier to follow and could be adapted as I went along.

Obtaining official permission to carry out education research in Tanzanian primary schools involves passing through the national, regional and district layers of the governmental pyramid from top to bottom. Each level provides letters of introduction to the relevant personnel at the next level down. The process started with the Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH) before the first field trip. They required a detailed proposal (appendices 1.1-3), on the basis of which permission was granted for the research and Dr. Hillary Dachi was appointed as in-country supervisor. Dr. Dachi introduced me to the DEOs at Mkuranga and Kibaha, who facilitated the research by contacting schools and the Mkuranga office also assisted with transport. Without this assistance it would have been impossible to visit village schools away from the main road. Oxfam GB Tanzania supported the research in Shinyanga not only by negotiating access but also by providing transport and accommodation. In addition, I had ample opportunity to discuss impressions and findings with their experienced education staff. Support from the Faculty of Education at the University of Dar es Salaam and Oxfam GB Tanzania was vital to the success of the project. I had prepared documents in English and Swahili introducing the research, which were distributed to all DEOs and schools involved in the research. These are compiled, together with letters for negotiating access, in Appendix 1.

3.2.3 One-to-one interviews (Stage 1)

The core data collection within Tanzania consisted of thirty-four semi-structured interviews with teachers at eighteen different schools, conducted in October and November 2002. The schools visited included small village schools (with 4 -7 teachers, located 2.5 - 8 km from a main road), medium-sized village schools (10 -15 teachers, located on a main road) and large town schools (with 28 - 40 teachers, either located in town centres or close to main tarmac roads). The sample included teachers with lengths of service ranging from one to thirty-eight years and a mixture of grade B teachers with two or fewer years of secondary education and grade A teachers with four years of secondary education (appendix 3.1, p.389, details primary teacher qualifications). The interviews were about an hour long and included questions on the following themes:

(i) career biography, including pre-service training, previous postings, in-service training;

(ii) a lesson taught recently, reasons why students perform differentially in school and strategies to help students who do not perform well;

(iii) characteristics of a good teacher, relations with pupils, parents, the community, various levels of administration from school committee to central government and awareness of policy;

(iv) what teachers liked and disliked about teaching, lifestyle and status;

(v) how their school might be improved.

Table 3.1: Characteristics of interviewees

	<10 years service			>10 years service			total		
	M	F	M+F	M	F	M+F	M	F	M+F
Town	1	4	5	3	8	11	4	12	**16**
Village	5	2	7	7	4	11	12	6	**18**
TOTAL	6	6	**12**	10	12	**22**	**16**	**18**	**34**

M:- male; F:- female

Table 3.2: Location of interviewees

	Shinyanga		Coast Region		**TOTAL**
	Municipality	Rural	Kibaha	Mkuranga	
Town	4	0	10	2	**16**
Village	2	10	0	6	**18**
TOTAL	**6**	**10**	**10**	**8**	**34**

The headteacher of each school visited was asked to select two teachers to be interviewed, who differed with respect to such characteristics as length of service, grade and gender. Several of the headteachers at smaller schools (with 15 or less teachers) made the selection in consultation with the whole teaching staff. It is therefore likely that most interviewees were respected as responsible, competent and articulate colleagues. Other reasons for selection were availability, age (elders are deferred to on account of their experience) and, in the case of at least two interviewees, a special relationship with the headteacher. Interviews were conducted at the school, as the most convenient location. Although attempts were made to ensure privacy, this meant that some of the interviews with senior teachers suffered from interruptions. All except one of the interviews were tape-recorded and all were conducted in Swahili.

3.2.4 Dual-site case study (stage 1)

The dual-site case study consisted of intensive observation and a limited number of interviews and discussion groups at two schools, Isega School in Shinyanga town and Mandhari School in Mkuranga district (the names of the schools have been changed). It was intended to aid interpretation of interview data by providing contextual information on teachers' working conditions and practice. The focus schools were selected in consultation with a DEO and my primary contact in each region (in Shinyanga this was Godfrey Wawa, then Coordinator of an Oxfam GB Tanzania Primary Education Project, whilst in Coast Region this was Dr. Dachi). Both schools had a reputation for improving their performance in recent years, partly because DEOs were keen to select a school that would reflect well on their district but mostly because the staff were judged to be sufficiently confident to be open and honest. This is an important consideration in a culture that places a premium on hospitality, which, to give an example, may mean that visitors are only allowed to observe 'showcase' lessons and not 'business as usual'. The only other criteria the schools were chosen for were their proximity to places where I could get accommodation, a consideration which placed a severe limitation on possible schools and effectively ruled out all remote village schools. Each case study included the following data-collection techniques:

(i) half-hour meetings with the headteacher alone and the whole staff near the beginning of the study to negotiate access, expectations and participation;

(ii) study of documents such as duty book, log book and those displayed on noticeboards in the headteacher's office;

(iii) general observation of the school and its environment;

(iv) observation of around seven lessons with different teachers;

(v) unstructured interviews and informal conversations with teachers to elicit information on their biographical background;

(vi) forty-five minute focus group interviews with a group of six S5 pupils and a group of six S6 pupils;

(vii) unstructured interview with the chairman of the school committee to elicit information on their expectations of teachers and the history of the school;

(viii) unstructured interview with the headteacher, to elicit information on the school's history, plans for its future as well as personal career biography.

Table 3.3: Features of case study schools

	Town/ Village[1]	No of teachers	No of pupils	Classes	% pass rate 2001[4]
Isega Shinyanga town	Town	12	450	S1 & S2 (2 streams) S3-7, awali[2] (1 stream)	71
Mandhari Mkuranga	Village	13[5]	600	Awali[2], S1-S7 & MEMKWA[3] (1 stream)	23

[1] official designation [2] pre-school class [3] class for over-aged pupils
[4] for graduating S7 class in PSLE, national figure was 28.6%
[5] includes one teacher long-term sick

Some of the features of the two schools are compared in table 3.3. Both schools were medium inside and, although Isega was officially designated as a town school and Mandhari as village school, were hybrid in their features. Most of Isega's intake came from a village located just outside of Shinyanga town, although a significant minority (estimated by the headmaster as about 10%, which from my observations of children arriving and leaving the school compound appeared to be an underestimation) came from a relatively affluent suburb of Shinyanga. With the exception of a small handful of children, all of Mandhari's intake came from nearby villages. The small handful were chidren of officials working at the district headquarters and lived in Mkuranga town. Isega was located on the outskirts of

Shinyanga town and Mandhari on a main road into Dar es Salaam, about five kilometres from the DEO at Mkuranga.

In practice, the studies of each school were more different in character than I had intended. This was partly because of the school cultures and the personality of the headteachers and partly down to timing. The study of Isega was conducted in the middle of term when teachers were still working their way through the syllabus with most classes. The headteacher and teachers were busy with their normal timetable and were happy for me to wander around freely. I never observed lessons without asking permission from the teacher but this was often negotiated at the last minute. It was not feasible to formally interview teachers due to lack of private space as well as time but there were opportunities for informal conversations in the Teachers' Office and on the walk home from school. I also had more opportunity to get to know individual pupils than was the case at Mandhari, through informal chats during the walk to school and through observation of their 'playground' interactions before lessons started.

The time taken to obtain an obligatory residency permit, a separate process to obtaining a research permit, meant that the study of Mandhari was conducted close to the end of term, in the week preceding end of year exams. In addition, it was approaching the hottest time of year, teachers had been denied their last school vacation by the national census (this is carried out every ten to fifteen years and employs teachers to collect household data) and some of the staff and students at the school were fasting for Ramadan. The headteacher prepared a programme for observing lessons and interviewing teachers and, as the week progressed, it became

clear that some of the lessons observed were only being taught for my benefit or that the time of the lesson had been altered. The teachers had completed the syllabus with their classes and spent much of the day marking, leaving the children unattended in their classes 'revising'. On the other hand, there was a private space for interviewing and I was able to follow up each observation with an interview. This revealed patterns in teachers' biography, participation in INSET and their pedagogy. The study of Mandhari was more systematic but I had less of a sense of how the school operated as a community and did not observe little every day stories unfold in quite the same way I had at Isega. I made several return trips to Mandhari during stage two, in the course of arranging and carrying out a focus study of the deputy headteacher and a discussion meeting. Although I did not use this time to collect more data on the school, it did contribute significantly to my understanding of the organisational context of schools. Several teachers volunteered personal information during both stages, which although contributing to my general understanding and hence the construction of narratives in chapter six, I did not feel it was necessary to report directly.

Data generated by the case study took the form of a detailed field diary recording observations around the compound, lesson observations and notes from one-to-one interviews with teachers, the school chairmen and discussion groups with pupils. A selection of the 'scenes' recorded in the field diary are described in the context chapter, chapter four, in order to give an idea of the school day and its routines. The historical background to Isega School and its discussion, also in chapter four, is based on information from the headteachers and chairmen, as well as information I gathered whilst visiting other schools. The lesson observations were used in chapter

eight, which includes descriptions of four lessons and discussion of how observation and analysis were carried out.

3.2.5 Discussion meetings (stage 2)

Emerging findings from the first stage were compiled into a presentation lasting around half an hour on 'Tanzanian primary school teachers' perceptions of their work' (a transcript of the presentation is given in appendix 2.2). This was presented to meetings of teachers and DEOS who were then invited to discuss the presentation in smaller groups of four to six participants and feedback their comments to the meeting. These meetings proved useful as a means of confirming the findings and also provided some eloquent quotes from individuals, who were able to exhibit their oratorical skills in a group situation. The meetings were also intended as means of practicing reciprocity. Through feeding findings back to participants and education officers it was hoped to stimulate debate on the issues raised. With respect to this second purpose they raised important questions that are discussed in section 3.5 below. They were more time consuming to organise and caused more disruption to lessons than the other data collection activities, an issue that is also discussed in section 3.5. Not all the interviewees could be included in the discussion groups, so brief documents in Swahili summarising research findings were sent to all participating schools, along with copies of any photographs taken at a school. Feedback documents and their transcripts are given in appendix 2.

Six discussion meetings were held in total. Two of these were held at the focus schools and involved all the staff serving at the school during stage two. One was held in Kibaha district and included teachers from various schools in both Kibaha Town Council and Kibaha District, including remote schools, and a few teachers, who

were interviewed during stage 1. Another meeting was held in a remote ward of Shinyanga Rural and included teachers from various schools within the ward along with the Ward Education Coordinator. Findings were also presented and discussed with staff of Mkuranga DEO and a meeting of DEOs and inspectors for Shinyanga Rural and Shinyanga Municipality. All the meetings in Shinyanga were also attended by two Tanzanian Oxfam education staff and a 'friend' sat in on the meeting in Kibaha. In these group situations, the presence of a Tanzanian with whom I could discuss impressions was extremely useful and in no way intrusive.

3.2.6 Focus teachers (stage 2)

During stage two, I asked three informants I had met during the first stage to be 'focus' teachers. Through a series of three interviews and observation of three lessons, I was able to get to know these teachers, their social and working contexts and their teaching style in more depth. These individual focus studies formed the basis of the narratives on personal and professional identities in chapter six, which also includes details of data collection and analysis.

3.3 Rationale for research design

3.3.1 Combining interviews with case study observation

The interviews and case study may be regarded as the methodological ears and eyes, respectively, of the study. Of course, in practice the ears and eyes are busy during both interviews and observations. Typically, interviews are a rich source of contextual data to the alert researcher (see, for example, Davies, 1997). Conversely, the case study presented innumerable opportunities for informal discussion with teachers, which illuminated the reasoning behind their practice (see, for example, Prophet, 1995). There are various reasons why interviews should be supported by

observation. It is well known that teachers do not always do exactly what they say they do, like all interviewees they tend to present themselves in what they regard to be a favourable light. This is likely to be particularly true in contexts where teacher misconduct is a problem, as evidence suggests it is in many Tanzanian schools (e.g. Rajani, 2001). Although the 'response effect' should not necessarily be regarded as a problem, it is important to be aware of the extent to which the interview is a performance. Observations can help not only to establish the veracity of what teachers say but also the interpretation. It is not uncommon for specialised educational terminology to be ascribed a new meaning when transferred across national borders, 'child-centred' being an example mentioned by several Westerners researching in Africa (e.g. Davies, 1992; Martin *et al.*, 2000:213).

The number of one-to-one interviews and focus schools was largely determined by how much data a 'lone ranger' researcher could reasonably analyse within the time frame of a PhD study. Almost every text aimed at guiding novice researchers warns of the dangers of data-overload. This is perhaps most memorably illustrated by Keith Lewin's photograph of himself as a PhD researcher, peering from behind towering paper stacks of data (Vulliamy *et al.*, 1990:205). Also, a visiting researcher is dependent on the voluntary assistance of people, some of whom may be very busy. One manifestation of the ethical principle of respect for others is not making unnecessary demands on their time and goodwill. Another argument for data economy is that of methodological elegance. One of the advantages of qualitative research methods, most frequently argued for case studies, is that through attention to detail, useful findings can be obtained from the study of a few singularities (Stenhouse, 1979; Bassey, 1999).

3.3.2 Discussion of interview method

In this sub-section, I briefly summarise different types of interview, moving on to explain my own conceptualisation of the interview process and implications for the type of interview style used in this study.

Interview style

Interview strategies are normally defined according to the degree of structure, with structured interviews being associated with positivist or post-positivist research approaches and unstructured interviews with the interpretivist paradigm. Highly structured closed quantitative interviews aim for interviewer neutrality, so that the interviewee responds to the questions and not to the personality of the interviewer. It may be argued, however, that pre-determined questions impose the researchers' interpretative framework and hence, inhibit the emergence of informants' alternative perspectives. At the other extreme, life history interviewers aim to facilitate the informants' revelation and reflection upon their own story, allowing them to discuss areas or issues that may not have been anticipated by the researcher. Life history researchers, like other qualitative researchers often view the interview conversation as a construction of both parties (Fontana & Frey, 2000:646). In this research project, a large number of structured interviews would have required resources that were not available. On the other hand, the intimate methods of life history research requiring extended contact with a very select group of informants would also have been difficult to achieve, not only because fieldwork had to be contained within time limited field visits but because of the extreme cultural fluency this requires. Riessman (1987), for example, has charted the misunderstandings that arose between a white American interviewer and Puerto Rican informant because each assumed different conventions of narrative construction. I have chosen to steer a middle road between survey-type interviewing and intimate narrative approaches

primarily because this is more suited to the overall purpose of investigating teachers' collective identity but also out of pragmatic considerations. This is similar to the strategies employed by Osler (1997) and Stephens (1998), both outside researchers interested in life history in Kenya and Ghana respectively.

The interview strategy should be designed to fit its research purpose and be appropriate to the context of the interview and the cultural expectations of the interviewee. I selected what Patton calls the "interview guide approach" (1980:206). The interviews were prearranged with clearly delineated beginnings and ends, the topics to be covered were specified in advance but only in outline form and the style was variously conversational, depending on the nature of rapport with the informant. The guide, however, was used with the advice of Bogdan & Biklen in mind:

> The researcher has to be captive to the larger goal of the interview - understanding - not to the devices, gimmicks, questions, or the like that were invented as strategies and techniques of obtaining information. (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998:97).

In practice this meant that I started with an interview schedule prior to entering the field, which during the early stages of negotiating access illustrated the planning that had gone into the research design. A version of this was written into the same notebook used for jotting down notes during the interview and was revised from time to time as I learnt about topical issues and conventions for expressing normative values. The initial schedule appears in appendix 1.3.

The construction of understanding when the researcher and research subject are from different cultures can be particularly challenging. Schweisfurth outlines how she negotiated understanding with South African and Russian teachers, sharing and comparing outsider and insider perspectives:

> The researcher's interaction with the subjects aimed to produce in-depth knowledge

> which is enhanced by being approached from two different cultural perspectives. ... In response to cues from the researcher, who sees the lesson through different eyes and finds alien the details of life and schooling under communism or apartheid, the taken-for-granted is foregrounded, and memory, practice and espoused theory are triangulated. In turn, the researcher's perspective is interrogated by the emphasis the teacher places on different aspects of each of these. (Schweisfurth, 1999:332)

Schweisfurth's exploration of difference was grounded in a "taken-for-granted" commonality of professional interests. I too found that my own background as a teacher in Tanzania became a reference point, occasionally referred to by informants explicitly, e.g. "You too are a teacher, you understand." Whilst sharing Schweisfurth's view on knowledge co-construction, I did not expect or find this to be a symmetrical process within interviews. The interview situation was an unique opportunity to hear the informant's point of view. I made a record, in the form of notes and a tape recording, which I then walked away with and analysed. The outcome of the analyses, then, was my interpretation of the informant's perspective. The research product may be regarded as a fusion of horizons of the researcher and informants, where, at different stages in the process different parties' perspective is privileged. During the analyses and write-up, the initiative is with the author and the research product represents the author's final interpretation. During the interview, however, the informant's voice is privileged and the main task of the researcher is to listen. As Spindler & Spindler say of the interviewing strategy they developed in their comparative ethnography of a German and American primary school, "The voices of the ethnographers, ourselves, are heard ... but our voices are muted" (1993:106).

Some longstanding strategies that pre-date the formulation of 'constructivism', invite informants to meet the interviewer midway in the process of reaching an understanding. Lerner suggested casting the interviewee in the role of expert consultant (1957:27, cited in Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). Conversely, by

assuming the position of the cultural outsider, a visiting researcher is able to ask very basic questions (as recommended by Davies, 1997:143). By asking questions that are not factual in nature but rather require an explanation of 'common sense', the interviewer is effectively inviting the informant to share the stance of an outsider by articulating what is taken-for-granted. The interviewee makes an attempt to appreciate the interviewer's perspective so as to better communicate his or her own point of view. The 'naïve interviewer' approach can, within reason, be adapted to the second language situation by using miscomprehension as an excuse to seek clarification. On the whole, however, I found the onus was on me to penetrate the taken-for-granted as the one with the comparative advantage of crossing national boundaries. A more symmetrical mutual exploration of differences between Tanzania and England did occur between myself and a couple of informants within a series of informal conversations during the case study but not within the formal one-to-one interviews.

Language, white researchers and gatekeepers

I was sufficiently fluent in Swahili to make use of an interpreter unnecessary. It was also evident to informants that I knew their country and culture well and so limited the extent to which I could assume the position of naïve outsider. Indeed, at times informants assumed me to share more insider knowledge with them than I did, especially at the beginning of stage one when I was still becoming familiar with the primary education sub sector. The fact that secondary education is delivered through the medium of English, means that primary school teachers speak Swahili to a higher standard than any other sizable occupational group. The greatest challenge to my language skills was the breadth of vocabulary that informants used. This meant that especially near the beginning, I often had to note down words that were unfamiliar

and look them up later, if I did not wish to interrupt the flow of conversation to clarify meaning on the spot. With one exception, all the one-to-one interviews were tape recorded. It was explained that this was because Swahili was not my first language and that I would be the only person to listen to the tape. The tapes allowed me to listen to interviews a second time to double check the understandings I had assumed in the interview. More importantly, they also allowed more care and attention to be given to the deceptively subjective process of translation, which was integral to interpretation.

Having lived in Tanzania, I was less self-conscious of my status as a white Swahili-speaking English woman than someone, who had spent less time in the country, might be. It is only possible to judge the impression I made on informants and how this influenced data collection through monitoring how they related to me. A few interviewees regarded a Swahili-speaking *muzungu* (white person) as a curiosity and if, in the introductions I failed to explain my background, at the end of the interviews they tried to find out how I had learned the language. Several clearly enjoyed the opportunity to get to know an outsider and used my questions to gain insight into the perspective I was coming from. Coming from England, I was in general struck by the quality of listening amongst people I met in the course of the research. A few informants hoped to benefit from contact with a Westerner, who they recognised as more mobile and affluent than themselves. A few male teachers at the beginning of their career hoped I would be able to assist them to contact potential sponsors for further or higher education. Two headteachers requested that I look for a 'link' school in England that might help with sponsorship and resources for their school. Most informants appreciated that the intention of interviews was to elicit their

perceptions as practitioners, one headteacher explaining this back to me as "going to the grassroots instead of top-down". In this spirit, different parts of the interview were recognised as an opportunity to show off about their practice, complain about employment conditions and simply to be helpful to a strange visitor by trying to answer the questions as best they could.

Although I avoided the use of interpreters, on a few occasions when I was accompanied to schools by official 'gatekeepers' this did have the effect of impeding the establishment of a rapport between myself and headteachers or informants before entering the interview situation. Other 'gatekeepers', despite holding similar positions, were able to introduce me, hence establishing the legitimacy of the research, without generating an uncomfortable sense of formality. The degree of discomfort generated by these other visitors in itself revealed information about the school culture and its relations with DEOs. Over a third of the schools, all of which were town schools, I only ever visited on my own and letters from the DEO were sufficient to establish legitimacy. In Shinyanga, where I arrived at schools in an Oxfam vehicle, I made it clear in the introductions that I was independent of Oxfam. However, given that two informants described white researchers, who had observed their lessons as part of a consultation for Oxfam GB Tanzania, as "inspectors from Oxfam", I doubt if such distinctions meant much to village teachers. From their perspective, visitors from town arrive from time to time for their own indiscernible reasons and sometimes their visits are followed by the arrival of much needed resources. An advantage of only carrying out interviews at schools was that I was less likely to be seen as an "inspector". All interviewees were given a sheet of paper briefly introducing the research, a transcript of which is included in appendix 1.5, and

this did help to establish an understanding of the purpose of the research and my affiliations.

The questions

The objective of the interviews was to find out teachers' experiences and perceptions of their work, their educational values and how these impact on their work. My interest was in the reflection-in-action aspect of knowledge, the knowledge teachers develop through their experiences of education, both as students and teachers and how this is put into practice. Hence, the aim was not to elicit unsubstantiated opinions but accounts that illustrate how teachers' views and values are formed and acted out through specific events and institutional settings. The interviews started with biographic questions concerning educational and professional background. I then moved onto more specific questions concerning schools where they have studied or taught, teachers who have impressed them with either good or bad practice and anecdotes that illustrate their own educational values and classroom practice.

This is similar to the strategy Acker (1999:210) outlines of asking "previous school", "future plans" and "teaching here" questions. A biographic approach, particularly one that extends to future plans, also has the advantage of establishing how important teaching is to teachers. In a context, where most teachers engage in informal income raising activities (Alphonce, 1993), very few student teachers claim teaching as a first choice of career (Towse *et al.*, 2002) and teacher attrition rates are high, it cannot be assumed that all teachers identify with their salaried employment. Asking questions about other teachers was a strategy Lortie (1975:31) used to get around the 'response effect' when investigating the extent to which American teachers were

motivated by financial and material rewards. The problem with this is that it tends to produce de-contextualised data as informants prefer to talk about generalised others working in "some other" schools. Occasionally, an informant, who had had a bad experience at a previous school or under a previous headteacher, did identify the misconduct of unnamed former colleagues as the cause. Asking about teachers who have made a positive impression gave insight into the informant's educational values and generated more specific data on what was considered to be good practice than simply asking what were the characteristics of a good teacher. Likewise, asking teachers to describe a recent lesson generated a rich set of detailed data on what was considered to be good teaching and how educational values such as 'participation' were actually put into practice.

Most studies of teachers' perceptions, concentrate on attitudes to institutional factors, such as lines of accountability, experiences of policy changes (e.g. Osborn *et al.*, 2000), schools in which they have taught (Acker, 1999) or teachers' personal stories (e.g. Goodson, 1992a; Clandinin & Connelly, 1995). Teachers in this study seemed to have only very vague knowledge of policy-making although they could talk about three major policy initiatives that had been effectively implemented. These were the major revision of the curriculum in 1996, the introduction of UPE in 2002 and the compulsory deduction of national health insurance from their salaries. Cortazzi (1993), from his experience of 'eavesdropping' in staffrooms suggested that teachers everywhere like to exchange anecdotes about pupils. Such chat, however, was not so common in the Teachers' Office at either Isega or Mandhari. In interviews, teachers only talked about pupils in general terms and there was never any mention of or anecdote concerning a specific individual. The absence of these anecdotes in

itself said something about educational values and the effect of large class sizes on practice. I finished the interview by asking questions relating to lifestyle, income and things that might be done to improve the school. Most informants made the most of the opportunity this provided to air their grievances about poor employment and working conditions, issues that they related directly to the quality of their practice and wished research to address.

3.3.3 Discussion of case study method

The decision to carry out a dual-site case study to study teachers' practice and working context requires some qualification. I start by considering what is a case study and clarifying the type and purpose of the case study to be conducted. I then discuss the issue of generalisability of case study findings.

What is case study?

Bassey (1999:24) traces the most popular definition of case as "a bounded system" back to Louis Smith. The education system of a single country (e.g. Fife, 1997), a single school (e.g. Crossley & Bennett, 1997), a single teacher (e.g. Schweisfurth, 1999) or event (e.g. P. Woods, 1993) may be taken as the case. As Hitchcock & Hughes (1995:319) point out, whilst a case may be almost anything the boundaries need to be defined and these will, to an extent be artificial. For instance, out of the multitude of inter-connected issues that could be investigated within a single school I was only interested in those that relate to teachers' understanding of their work. Although pupils' and parents' perceptions of school are equally important, I was only concerned with these insofar as they affect teachers. The purpose of the study determines the boundaries of the case, which in this research extended beyond the geographical boundaries of the school, although most data collection activities were

carried out at the school. For example, teachers' relations within the community and their family responsibilities influence how they construct their identity as teachers.

Various authors have drawn up a typology of case studies (see for example Merriam, 1988; Stenhouse, 1988; Stake, 2000). Bassey (1999:62) provides a useful categorisation into three broad types according to their purpose - evaluation, theory-seeking and theory testing and, lastly, story-telling and picture-drawing case studies. Evaluation case studies are intended to inform decision-making with respect to the case being studied. In theory-seeking and theory-testing case studies, the singularity is selected because it is considered to be typical of a general issue and the focus is on the issue rather than the particular case. In the last category, story-telling and picture-drawing case studies are at the same time an analytical account of the single case and aimed at illuminating theory. The distinction between the two, in Bassey's own words is that:

> Story-telling is predominantly a narrative account of the exploration and analysis of the case, with a strong sense of a time line. Picture-drawing is predominantly a descriptive account, drawing together the results of the exploration and analysis of the case study. (Bassey, 1999:62)

Bassey warns that all efforts at categorisation are dangerous. He might have added that nearly all typologies for case studies have been empirically deduced from the sample encountered by the author. Even in proposing what is perhaps the simplest typology (exploratory, descriptive or explanatory), Yin (1994) advises that a single case study may fall into two of these categories (i.e. be both descriptive and explanatory). However, the case study I carried out fit quite comfortably into Bassey's picture-drawing sub-category, which has both a descriptive and analytical purpose. It was a dual-site case study in the sense that I collected data from two

schools in order to construct one descriptive account of Tanzanian teachers' organisational working context. Conveniently, the picture-drawing metaphor chimes with my earlier analogy of the interviews and case study as the methodological eyes and ears of the study, so that their products may be likened to the text and illustration, respectively, of the research report.

Generalisation in qualitative research

The purposes of the case study was firstly, to describe teachers' working context in order to enhance understanding of their perspectives and make the study accessible to an international audience and secondly, to extend the investigation of teachers' perspectives through observation of practice and conversations with a small number of informants over a longer period. Both of these purposes entail some form of generalisation. The descriptive purpose implies that a detailed portrayal of two schools will give readers an insight into the majority of other Tanzanian primary schools. The analytical purpose of understanding teachers' perspectives assumes that the in-depth study of a few teachers in their natural environment *together* with the one-to-one interviews of a larger sample will produce findings, which are generalisable to most teachers in Tanzania. For the first purpose, it is simply not possible to argue that a sample of two schools are representative, in any statistically significant way, of all schools in Tanzania. As Stake tersely points out, "Case study research is not sampling research" (1995:4). Stenhouse (1988; 1993) likewise dismisses the statistical concept of generalisation, suggesting instead that we look to the discipline of history for an alternative conceptualisation. Historians apply detailed knowledge of one case to gain insight into another similar but never identical case. This type of generalisation involves an analysis of the similarities and differences between the two cases and is a matter of skillful judgement and wisdom (see also

Schofield, 1993).

Well-written case studies, rich in descriptive detail concerning one particular case can provide insight into a large number of similar cases or even very different cases that have some similarities. Simons calls this the 'paradox of case study' (1996). Yin illustrates the paradox with the example of William F. Whyte's classic sociological case study, *Street Corner Society* (1943):

> The study has been highly regarded despite its being a single-case study, covering one neighborhood ("Cornerville") and a time period now more than 50 years old. The value of the book is, paradoxically, its generalizability to issues on individual performance, group structure, and the social structure of neighborhoods. Later investigators have repeatedly found remnants of Cornerville in their work, even though they have studied different neighborhoods and different time periods. (Yin, 1994:4)

In educational case study, practitioners can draw upon their own experience to judge which parts of a case study's findings are relevant to their own working contexts and in what ways. Stake (1995:86) calls this making "natural generalizations". In 1995, Bassey rejected the word 'generalisation' altogether, arguing instead that the strength of case study is that the findings can readily be 'related to' many other cases. Later, Bassey returned to 'generalisation' and refined the concept of "fuzzy generalization" (1999). However, I will use the word *relatability* and not the more obtuse 'natural generalisation' to refer to a type of generalisation which I regard as being quite distinct from fuzzy generalisation.

The strength of case study with respect to the second purpose of generating supplementary evidence on teachers' perspectives lies in its ecological validity. This means that because case studies are carried out in natural environments, in this instance two schools, the findings are relatable to other natural environments.

Crossley & Vulliamy (1984) argue that it is their ecological validity that makes case studies a valuable tool in developing countries, where the disparity between policy and practice, a universal feature of education systems, tends to be especially great. Prophet (1995) illustrates how case study can be effective in such situations. Through an extended period of classroom observation and interviewing in two Botswanan schools he revealed that a curriculum innovation was not being effectively implemented because it was at odds with both teachers' and students' notions of teaching and learning. This example highlights the potential of case study "to 'get inside' the perspectives of respondents" (Vulliamy *et al.*, 1990:100). As Vulliamy points out, interpretation of what teachers say can be checked out by observation of their practice (Vulliamy *et al.*, 1990:105). Conversely, the pedagogical reasoning behind teachers' practice may be ascertained through follow-up interviews, a strategy that Schweisfurth (1999) and Alexander (2000) have both employed in international comparative studies to great effect.

3.4 Analysis of speech data

A range of tools are available for the analysis of interview data. Silverman (2000) divides these into two categories of realist and narrative approaches. He defines 'realist' approaches as assuming that "interview responses index some external reality" (Silverman, 2000:823). By contrast, narrative methods "open up for analysis the culturally rich methods through which interviewers and interviewees in concert, generate plausible accounts of the world" (Silverman, 2000:823). In other words, interview data is not taken at face value but the researcher looks for the motives and social structures that prompt informants to portray things in the way they do in the interview situation. This may be achieved through looking for the structure used to organise narratives, as described by Cortazzi (1993) and Riessman (1993) or by

discourse analysis for syntactic and linguistic devices. Strategies for qualitative analysis may also be arranged on a continuum, with standardised systematic approaches, such as Miles & Huberman's (1984) 'transcendental realism' at one end and the individualistic styles of those who regard analysis as an art at the other (e.g. Stake, 1995:71-2). Even in applying systematic methods, such as Strauss & Corbin's (1998) grounded theory, researchers bring their prior understandings, gleaned through experience or reading, to data analysis:

> Researchers carry into their research the sensitizing possibilities of their training, reading, and research experience, as well as explicit theories that might be useful if played against systematically gathered data, in conjunction with theories emerging from analysis of these data. (Strauss & Corbin, 1994:277)

This introduces a creative unaccountable element to interpretation that Stake describes as "capitaliz[ing] on ordinary ways of making sense" and "intuitive processing" (1995:72). Hence, qualitative data analysis requires both discipline *and* creativity, it is both systematic and requires leaps of the intuition. The balance to be achieved is not so much between science and art or objectivity and theoretical sensitivity but the use of systematic methods, which can be accounted for, and following up intuitive hunches or imagined possibilities. In this research, the experiential roots of intuition lay in my own experience as a teacher in Tanzania, knowledge of the history of education in Tanzania and reading around teacher identity in England.

3.4.1 Thematic analysis

The one-to-one interviews generated by the far the largest data set, which I started by simply reading through. After reading each script I drew up a brief profile of each informant, which included information on his or her biographic background, identity statements and characteristics either observed in the script or noted down shortly

after the interview. In this way I reacquainted myself with each of the informants, so that throughout the process of analysis I retained a memory of them as individuals very much as I would a class group I am teaching. Fish's description of a class as an "interpretive community" (quoted in Casey, 1995-1996) encapsulates how I thought about the informants. So, for example, I knew that one informant tended to view her work from a historical perspective, that another was unusually close to the local community, yet another had a tendency to exaggerate the socio-economic plight of teachers and so on.

During subsequent readings of the data set, I cut and pasted quotes relating to five broad topics of identity (labeled "Who am I"), pedagogy, the purpose of education (labeled "What is education"), community, system and school (labeled "organisation"). Through referencing these to the interview transcripts I was able to interpret meaning and significance in the light of my knowledge of the individuals, who had spoken them. Once data were organised into topics, it was possible to identify themes and sub-themes that recurred across interviews. Examples of some of the themes and sub-themes emerging within the topic "who am I", which concerned teacher identity, are given in table 3.4. This process of analysing within themes was carried out alongside writing a twenty-page report for feeding back emerging findings to DEOs and education staff of Oxfam GB Tanzania (included in appendix 2.1).

Table 3.4 Examples of themes and sub-themes in topic "who am I"

Theme	Sub-theme	elaboration
Reasons for entering teaching	Like children Like teaching Develop children as I was developed Altruism/patriotic Inspired by own teachers/parents Be a better mother Career narrative	e.g. to serve this country, to educate society, to be in service [*ndani ya utumishi*] e.g. to get an academic qualification, my first choice engineering but I was selected for teaching Personal story behind entry to teaching
Bad teachers		Good teacher defined by counter-example
Teaching as job ***Ualimu ni kazi***	Hard work Apply yourself Be prepared or business-like	*kazi ngumu* *jituma* good teacher prepares lessons or is business-like [*utendaji*]
Teaching as a vocation **Ualimu ni wito**	Teaching is a vocation Local expert Develop or improve myself	*Mtaalamu* Good teacher wants to develop her/himself academically [*kujiendeleza*]
Teacher as mirror or example **Kioo/mfano**	Good behaviour/Ethics agreeable to society Respectable/status	Smart dress, clean, does not drink In eyes of parents & community
Cooperation ***ushirikiano***		Good teacher cooperates with colleagues, parents etc

3.4.2 Dramaturgical action and script analysis

In the last chapter, it was pointed out that analysis of speech interaction needs to take into account its social embedded-ness. Davies reminds us that Informants use

our interviews as an opportunity for doing "identity work" (Davies, 1997), by consciously editing how they present themselves to an outside researcher from Europe. A claim such as "I am close to pupils" poses a double interpretive task, first to divine the intended meaning and second to assess whether it is an instance of normative, dramaturgical or normative action (see section 2.2.3, pp.39-40, I have assumed that teleological action is unlikely in an interview situation) . Normative action in this context would be giving a standard response to a question without reflection on its meaning or its reception by the interviewer. A greeting or statement of a simple fact, for example if an informant gives the year s/he qualified as a teacher, would fall into this category. Dramaturgical action is intended by the speaker to project a certain image of his or herself. Descriptors such as "I use participative strategies" or "I am a teacher by vocation" may be deployed dramaturgically in order to present themselves as 'good teachers'. Communicative action is a genuine attempt to communicate information, a belief or opinion. In practice, a single action may be both commicative and dramaturgical. For example, an informant may say "I use participative strategies" both to describe what s/he believes her practice to be like and to project an image as a good teacher. As Davies (1997) points out, as long as we recognise that interviewees do 'perform' then their performances should be taken seriously as a representation of their understanding and not dismissed as an undesirable 'response set'. More simply, not all performances are deceptions and even deceptions tell us something about the speaker's understandings.

Davies borrows from dramaturgical analogies that underpin discourse analysis but rejects the deterministic connotations of role theory, with which it is often associated

(Davies, 1984; Harber & Davies, 1997:108-116). She chooses instead to work with 'script theory' (see table 3.5), which accounts for individual agency against a backdrop of socially prescribed roles or 'type-scripts':

> A person's repertoire of acts and statuses originates in, and must be validated by the social group; but the concept of scripts ... implies the individual's ability to write and re-write his or her own lines; to perform differently in different programmes, in public and in private; to experiment with different parts within the same play; to ad lib; to edit; to forget. (Davies, 1984:98)

In her study of school management in Zimbabwe, Davies (Harber & Davies, 1997) used her ideas concerning scripts and 'identity work' within a framework of discourse analysis, identifying hooray-words, type-scripts and scripts with predominant discourses. Definitions and examples of hooray-words, typescripts, scripts and discourses that emerged from analysis of interview data in this project are given in table 3.5.

Table 3.5: Terms used in script theory and discourse analysis
Terms and definitions from Harber & Davies (1997:110-2)

Term	Definition	Examples from interview data
Hooray words	Provoke a cheer, incontestably good things	participative [*ushirikishaji*] rights [*haki*]
Typescripts	The broad set of expectations attached to a social position	the parents are unaware/ignorant [*wazazi hawano mwamko*] girls lack confidence [*wanaona hayibu*] the ones that don't go to school are very dirty
Scripts	An individualised statement to say something about who you are and where you stand.	teacher by calling [*mwalimu wa wito*] I love children A teacher is like a second parent here we beat children
Discourse	A whole set of shared language and practices that imply an ideological stance	discourse of care [*malezi*] discourse of neglect [*i.e. teachers denied their rights as employees*] discourse of participative teaching

The vocation script

Although not applying script theory systematically, I kept an eye out for recurring phrases used by more than one informant or observed in written texts, such as newspaper articles or teacher education textbooks. This helped to suggest the history of ideas and the ways in which teachers manipulated and claimed as their own scripts deployed by government or education-related NGOs to control their practice. For example, "Teaching is a vocation" (*ualimu ni wito*) is an expression used by many of the teachers interviewed that was also found in a teacher education textbook. Some teachers coupled it with phrases such as "a teacher is like a priest or nun ...", suggesting the history of the "vocation" idea in the missionary era of education development. In a teacher education textbook also, its use was surrounded by language drawn from religion:

> Teaching is a calling [*wito*]. As some say, teaching is saintly work because it engages and develops the body, mind and spirit, so it is not a job like other work. Therefore, we say teaching is a calling. In other words, it is work for which a person should sacrifice her/himself and s/he will defend it up to her/his death. (Mwaduma, 1991:54, my own translation)

Teachers adapted the vocation script in several ways. It was sometimes used to identify oneself as "a good teacher" by contrast to a "negative reference group" (Nias, 1985:110) for whom teaching is only a job to get money:

> In my experience in teaching I have learnt that there are two types of teacher. There are those who are teachers by vocation and there are others who just come to work. S/he doesn't have any sympathy for the children. (Long service male teacher, Shinyanga town)

At other times it was deployed as a backhanded critique of employment conditions, implying that teachers were obliged by their employment conditions to conceptualise their occupation as a vocation, where motivation is rooted in a sense of responsibility, rather than as a job, where employees work for extrinsic rewards. Yet others, rejected the term altogether in order to criticise what they saw as its cynical use in

propaganda to manipulate teachers into tolerating unacceptable working conditions:

> ... sometimes the ministry sees us like volunteers. Yes, they say that teaching is a vocation, now a vocation is something which is just frustrating, to just hurt. (Long service male teacher, Shinyanga Rural)

Development-related discourses and the white researcher

The human rights discourse, a discourse of participation and a concern over the practice of corporal punishment had all been promoted by representatives of Western culture, who have the power to influence Tanzanian policy, as the way things 'ought to be done'. Although I was independent of any development organisation, it was inevitable that this had implications for how these discourses would be used and discussed with me. A human rights discourse had been advocated by NGOs concerned with children and education, one of which had been especially active in Shinyanga. Although they did not argue with the principle that children have rights (and responsibilities), teachers turned the rights discourse around to complain that they were being denied their rights as employees. A discourse of participative teaching, which older teachers claimed had a history in Tanzania, had recently been revitalised by donor-funded in-service programmes. It is possible that more teachers referred to their practice as participative than might have been the case had they have been interviewed by a Tanzanian. 'Participation' (*ushirikishaji*), like 'rights', had become something of a hooray word that wandered free of its moorings in an actual set of pedagogic practices and came to be used to signal 'good teaching'. A discourse of corporal punishment was striking for its absence. Given the number of posters and booklets to be found on the subject around primary schools, most especially in Shinyanga, it was rather surprising that, beyond the occasional off-handed mention of slapping naughty children in class or vague references to "correction", interviewees did not discuss this at all. It was not clear whether

informants steered clear of the topic because they thought I would disapprove of their views or whether it was taken-for-granted to the extent that they felt no need to discuss it. The exception was the headteacher of one of the focus schools, who raised the topic rather cautiously over a period of a few days, conscious that it was a contentious issue to discuss with a *muzungu* (white person).

3.5 Some ethical issues

3.5.1 Ethics in social science research

Ethics in the social sciences may be considered as existing at two levels. The first and most apparent is that of how to conduct research so as to protect from harm, honour and respect all those, who come into contact with the research in any way. When users are included in this group, this includes criteria of competence and honesty in reporting findings. Guidelines, such as the Ethical Framework for Research prepared by the Graduate School of Education at the University of Bristol, go a long way to indicating what is expected in the conduct and reporting of research, although still requiring reflection in their application to the practice and context of a given research problem. For example, the decision whether or not to quote an informant anonymously needs to comply with legislation on data protection but also involves judgment concerning the extent to which participants' identity should be concealed and how this is to be achieved without diminishing the authority of their voice. Even when permission has been obtained "to say whatever you have seen" (in the words of the staff of one focus school), this may be given without complete understanding of how the research may be presented and to whom. Such statements are not so much a *carte blanche* as indications of trust in the researcher's judgment, made in respect of her knowledge of the research's intended purpose and audience.

At a second level there are some who regard ethics as the very substance of social sciences. At this more fundamental level ethics and epistemology become conflated. As explained above, one of the reasons for adopting the conversation model of epistemology is that it requires a respectful stance towards the knowledge and perspectives of others, whether these are informants interviewed in the course of collecting empirical data or those found in the literature. However, arguing that the study is ethical in this second sense does not in any way imply that the first will follow automatically. In every step involved in conducting and reporting research it is still essential to strive to conduct the research in such a way that it is honest and respectful of others, reflecting on what that may mean with respect to the context and task at hand. When research is conducted cross-culturally this is all the more challenging, as the researcher is required to seek to understand and adhere to the ethical codes of more than one society. One of the most serious ethical dilemmas I encountered related to the disruption of lessons.

3.5.2 Disrupted learning: An ethical dilemma

> Educational researchers should be sensitive to the integrity of ongoing institutional activities ...(Graduate School of Education, 2002:para II.B.8)

It is an ethical principle of education research that it should not disrupt children's learning. In England, it would be unthinkable to take a teacher out of her class for an interview. Research is carried out with a consideration for the pressurised time of teachers and, above all, a shared understanding that the demands on research will not encroach on teachers' contact time with children. It was different attitudes to time and visitors that gave rise to the most blatant clash between the ethical codes of UK and the norms of protocol in Tanzania. I observed at the focus schools that

timetabled lessons could be sacrificed or moved around to accommodate events such as collecting salaries, teacher illness, or, a particularly hot apathy-inducing afternoon. Teachers were likewise flexible in accommodating a visiting researcher. Consequently, lessons were missed, re-timetabled, extended and even taught on time just for my benefit. I would guess that in some of the village schools, where warning had been given of my visit, members of staff who were not in anyway involved with the research, made a point of being present and teaching in order to give the impression of a well-run orderly school (teacher absenteeism is a serious problem in Tanzania, Rajani & Robinson, 1999). Although visits were pre-arranged, I could not always predict my time of arrival at a school if I was dependent on a third party for transport. In summary, I have to say that my research did cause far more disruption to the normal running of schools then I was comfortable with and then would be considered ethical by English standards.

Some of the disruptions resulted from protocols concerning treatment of visitors. I had plenty of opportunities to observe schools' reception of various visitors, including DEOs, teacher trainers, representatives of donor-funded education projects and of course, myself and my escorts. Care was taken to provide guests with refreshments and, if the visit was a long one (a whole school day) and most especially, if the school was remote, a meal might be prepared for them. Schools that were particularly proud of their compound or classroom decorations made sure visitors were taken on a tour of the compound. In exchange guests eloquently praised teachers for their very evident achievements and thanked them for their hospitality. Visitors provided a school with an opportunity to show off and to receive the morale-boosting reward of recognition and appreciation. If the school succeeded in making

an impression, the news would pass through the network of local education professionals with the consequence that the school might be selected for special treatment, for example inclusion in a project. As a visitor, I felt bound by protocol to appreciatively accept meals when they were prepared for me. At the same time, I tried to take note of the time female teachers and sometimes disturbingly invisible female pupils had spent on cooking.

In their research on teacher-pupil interactions within Tanzanian primary schools, O-saki & Agu (2002) found female pupils complained of 'cooking for guests' amongst other forms of work they were obliged to do during designated lesson time. This complaint serves as a reminder that it would be complacent to dismiss my dilemma of, on occasion, disrupting pupils' learning as part of the institutional culture of schools. It is more honest, if uncomfortable, to concede the dilemma as unresolved, although the fact that it existed and I perceived it as a problem does in itself speak to the substantive issues of this study.

3.5.3 The challenges of reciprocity

Guba & Lincoln (1985) in their formulation of authenticity requirements for judging qualitative research introduced a concern for 'reciprocity' (later explicitly identified by Lincoln, 1995). The discussion groups and feedback papers were an attempt to address a perhaps naïve conception of reciprocity as sharing control and 'giving something back' but only *within the terms of the research*. Participants did not always feel constrained by these terms and had their own agendas (Davies, 1997). Their power to assert these agendas proved to be far greater in the group situation than in one-to-one interviews. Those with the most assertive personalities and eloquent oratorical skills used these to forcefully present their grievances over

working and living conditions. As a consequence, I have paid more attention to employment issues in this thesis whilst also recognising that discussion groups tended to bring grievances to the fore and hence, did not necessarily give a balanced picture.

Other agendas, completely unrelated to the research framework although a useful source of data on teacher attitudes, caused some consternation. Civil servants in Tanzania, as in other African countries (e.g. Davies *et al.*, 2003) are accustomed to receiving generous allowances for their participation in seminars or workshops (a convention that thankfully does not extend to one-to-one interviews). I certainly could not match the standard rates paid by the government and in some cases the matter was out of my hands as a third party administered the discussion groups. Where I did have control, I provided lunch and travel expenses that were considered adequate in some but not all districts. Returning to an earlier theme, the discussion groups were also the most disruptive component of the data collection. There is little hope of persuading civil servants to turn up to a meeting outside of their official working hours (0730 – 1600 weekdays) and so the meetings were held during school hours and two of them required between three and five teachers journeying for up to two hours to the venue. These teachers would have been absent for the whole school day. Discussion groups were, therefore, costly, both financially and in terms of teachers' time.

Some people expected to have their horizons expanded through their contact with me. These people entered fully into the epistemological spirit of the study by literally using conversations to draw their own comparisons. In one school, four young

female teachers interrogated me on schooling in England. A week later, I was similarly interrogated by a group of Standard 5 (12-14 year old) pupils. One critical informant was particularly impressed by the recognition of special education needs (SEN) in England and during a discussion group suggested that there was a need to train SEN specialists in Tanzania. One of the focus teachers viewed his participation in the research as an opportunity for professional development and, after lesson observations, asked me to suggest how he might improve his practice. These are just a few examples of 'reciprocity-in-action' within the process of the data collection.

Moving to the national level, dissemination of international research, most especially that carried out by students, is problematic within Tanzania. District officers complained to me that they had not heard again from Masters students, who they had assisted with their fieldwork. District officers, in education and other departments, often give generously of their time in order to facilitate visitors' research. In one district all my visits to schools were made on a district moped accompanied by a DEO. In fairness, it is hard to see how a Masters student could find the time and resources for more than the most superficial dissemination. Nonetheless, the perceived lack of communication post-fieldwork should be a cause for concern given that more international than national Ph.D. researchers carry out fieldwork in Tanzania (there was one Ph.D. student enrolled in Tanzania's only university faculty of education in 2002 compared to four, who I knew of, enrolled at British Universities doing education research in Tanzania). DEOs in the districts where I carried out data collection were given copies of the detailed report feeding back emerging findings included in appendix 2.1. In addition, at the end of stage 2 schools were sent a four page summary of the main findings in relation to Tanzanian

teacher identity, a transcript of which is given in appendix 2.3. After completion of the thesis, it is intended to produce summaries of the relevant findings aimed at policy-makers and district staff, as well as writing a paper for publication in *Papers for Education and Development*, a refereed journal published by the Faculty of Education, University of Dar es Salaam. These activities have been built into plans for a post-doctoral year.

To conclude this section, dissemination of the research findings is time-consuming and costly and building it into the research design was as frustrating as it was rewarding. I have only achieved it to the extent that I have through making a second trip to Tanzania and with the assistance of friends, who facilitate communication when I am in UK. Nonetheless, 'reciprocity-in-action' has been integral to the development of my understandings of the issues at the core of the research and compatible with the dialogic view of knowledge construction underpinning the study.

3.6 Summary

In this chapter I have given a full account of the research methods employed and how together they form a strategy appropriate to the research questions, suited to the available resources and compatible with the epistemological underpinnings of the study. The discussion has included an explanation of how data were analysed and reflection on ethical aspects of the research.

Stake rather poetically describes how analysis and write-up run concurrently as interlocked activities:

> Where thoughts come from, whence meaning, remains a mystery. The page does not write itself, but by finding, for analysis, the right ambience, the right moment, by reading and rereading the accounts, by deep thinking, then understanding creeps forward and your page is printed. (Stake, 1995:73)

Similarly, the organisation of topics into different chapters is a product of the strategies for analysis. In the next chapter, comparing context between England and Tanzania, I use scenes from the field diary I kept during the case study as the basis of a history for Isega School, which is integrated with a description of the compound, and an account of the school day that focuses on activities other than classroom teaching. Speech data were analysed from three angles, for individual portraits, for themes, including the use of script analysis, and for patterns cutting across individuals. Chapter six is based on the studies of the three focus teachers but the choice of focus teachers and decisions on what aspects of their lives outside of school to explore were made in the light of analysis of interview data on topics relating to biography and career. Thematic analysis around self-identity, community, system and school formed the basis of chapter seven, which considers teachers' collective identity as it is drawn up with respect to other groups. However, I also relied on observations of interaction between teachers and pupils and teachers and parents during the case study to assist in the interpretation of the interview data. Four examples of lessons that I observed are reported in chapter eight, which then goes on to discuss classroom practice by drawing also on the interview data within topics relating to pedagogic practice and relations with pupils. The third approach to speech analysis of grouping individuals according to patterns across themes was used to arrive at a typology of teacher identity presented and discussed in chapter nine.

Chapter 4: Systemic and Institutional Contexts

4.0 Introduction

This chapter foregrounds the background or "research environment" (Stephens, forthcoming) by describing the systemic and institutional school contexts in which teachers work. Comparativists with a range of research interests and approaches have argued that researchers and policy-makers need to be attentive to context in a special issue of *Comparative Education* (Crossley & Jarvis, 2000). Context is many-layered and it is necessary to decide which layers are most pertinent for the study at hand. Fife (1997) has argued that foreigners doing fieldwork in developing countries should take note of the national popular culture. Anthropologists and ethnographers, such as Stambach (2000) and Vavrus (2003) in their separate studies of education in the Kilimanjaro region of Tanzania, find it necessary to explain the geography and history of the localities where their research is carried out. International researchers often do the same for the countries or regions where their research is undertaken (examples are numerous but for a deliberate description of context in Greater China see Bray & Qin, 2001). Stephens refers to national statistical data in his study of girls and education in Ghana in order to locate schools and individuals on the national education landscape (Stephens, 1998). Comparativists have included investigations of the historical development of systems, administrative structures, architectural trends in school buildings and timetable of a typical school day (e.g. Broadfoot & Osborn, 1993; Alexander, 2000). Narrative and life history researchers use a very different tactic of in-depth study of an institution or person that locates them in place, time and relative to cultural background (as argued by P. Woods, 1996; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Comparative researchers have also highlighted the potential of

case study research, rich in descriptive detail, to reveal the influence of cultural context on educational processes (Stenhouse, 1979; Crossley & Vulliamy, 1997b).

Primary schools are both national and local institutions that in both Tanzania and England are influenced by international forces of a globalising world. In Tanzania, however, international organisations intervene directly through participation in policy-making. In this chapter I use two very different approaches in order to describe the systemic and policy context of primary education in Tanzania and the local institutional contexts in which teachers work. The first section concerns systemic context and is organised by a direct comparison of the English and Tanzanian primary education sector that focuses on the structure of the educational levels and primary curricula. Bearing in mind Crossley's (1990) warning that the gulf between official and implemented policy in developing countries is often wide, the next two sections are concerned with how educational policy is experienced at the school level. Taking a cue from Alexander (2000), who breaks his comparison of schools down into organising space, time and people, the second section takes the lay out of a school compound as its starting point, whilst the third section describes the school day. The dual-site case study, by focussing on two particular cases, embeds schools in several interacting layers of context. At the same time, by being "*relatable*" the case study brings to life the environment in which teachers have formed the values and perceptions reported in later chapters. Although, the style of presentation has little in common with Alexander's more systematic style, it is hoped that the separate descriptions of spatial and temporal dimensions will facilitate inter-textual comparison with his five country study. Similarly, in the first section on system, I borrow a diagrammatic format for comparing school systems from Osborn *et al.* (2003:44),

which makes it possible through reference to their work to extend the comparison to France and Denmark.

Further contextual information is provided in appendix 3. Appendix 3.1 compares teacher qualifications in England and Tanzania. Appendix 3.2 gives detail of the administration of primary education in relation to teachers, including information on the Tanzania Teachers Union (TTU). Appendix 3.3 summarises the history of primary education in each country in tabular form. These appendices give information that it may be useful to refer to when reading this and later chapters.

4.1 Comparison of basic education in Tanzania and England

The primary education cycles in Tanzania and England do not correspond in terms of the range of ages they cover or the learning goals they set for pupils. Who they are educating and for what purposes form fundamental parameters to teachers' work that necessarily influence their professional identity. Therefore, I start by comparing how these parameters are implicitly defined by the structure of educational levels and explicitly delineated by official curricula. The comparison highlights areas of tension in how teachers' work is defined in each country.

4.1.1 Organisation of compulsory basic education

When framing this study, I was interested in the basic education cycle that most if not all citizens receive. In Tanzania, this means the seven year primary cycle that is officially compulsory for seven to fourteen years olds (see fig. 4.1). In England, the compulsory basic education cycle is defined as six years of primary and the first five years of the secondary cycle, spanning the age range of five to sixteen years. The relatively late starting age in Tanzania is dictated by government's perception of a social responsibility to set a leaving age, which demarcates a boundary between

childhood and youth. The leaving age signals the age below which children should be protected from excessive physical labour and, in the case of girls, premature marriage and above which youth should be considered capable of becoming economically self-reliant. In Tanzania, pre-primary education is currently expanding but still poorly organised and largely unavailable to children living in remote areas and children in towns, whose parents cannot afford private nursery fees. A greater proportion of children in England experience pre-primary education than do primary education in Tanzania (see table 4.1), making it arguable that pre-primary should be considered as part of the universal educational experience that shapes society and its values. The majority of Tanzanian primary schools enrol entrants with lower levels of formal learning than English primary schools. Furthermore, in many rural areas the local vernacular is not Swahili, the medium of instruction. So, for example, where the English primary curriculum assumes that Year 1 entrants can already recognise the letters of the alphabet, the Tanzanian Swahili syllabus starts with greetings in Swahili and the alphabet.

Table 4.1: % Enrolment ratios in Tanzania and UK

	Tanzania		England	
	GER	NER	GER	NER
Pre-primary[1]	-	-	82	77
Primary	69[3]	54[3]	101[2]	100[2]
Secondary[2]	6[4]	-	158[5]	95[5]
Tertiary[2]	1	-	59	-

Information from UIS (http://stats.uis.unesco.org/, 04/08/2004)

[1] 1999/2000 [2] 2000/1 [3] 2001/2 [4] Estimated [5] Provisional

Fig. 4.1 Comparison of school systems in Tanzania and England

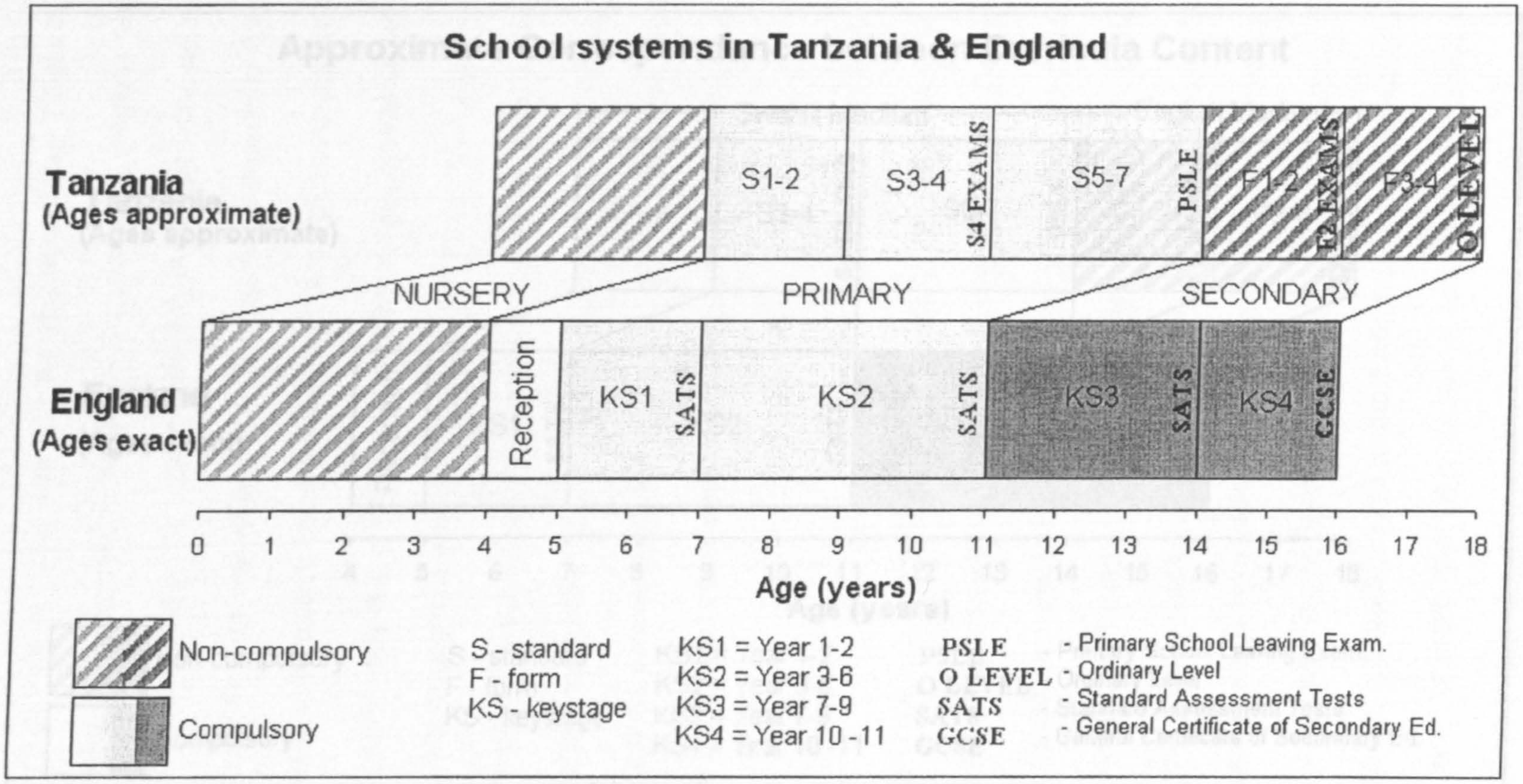
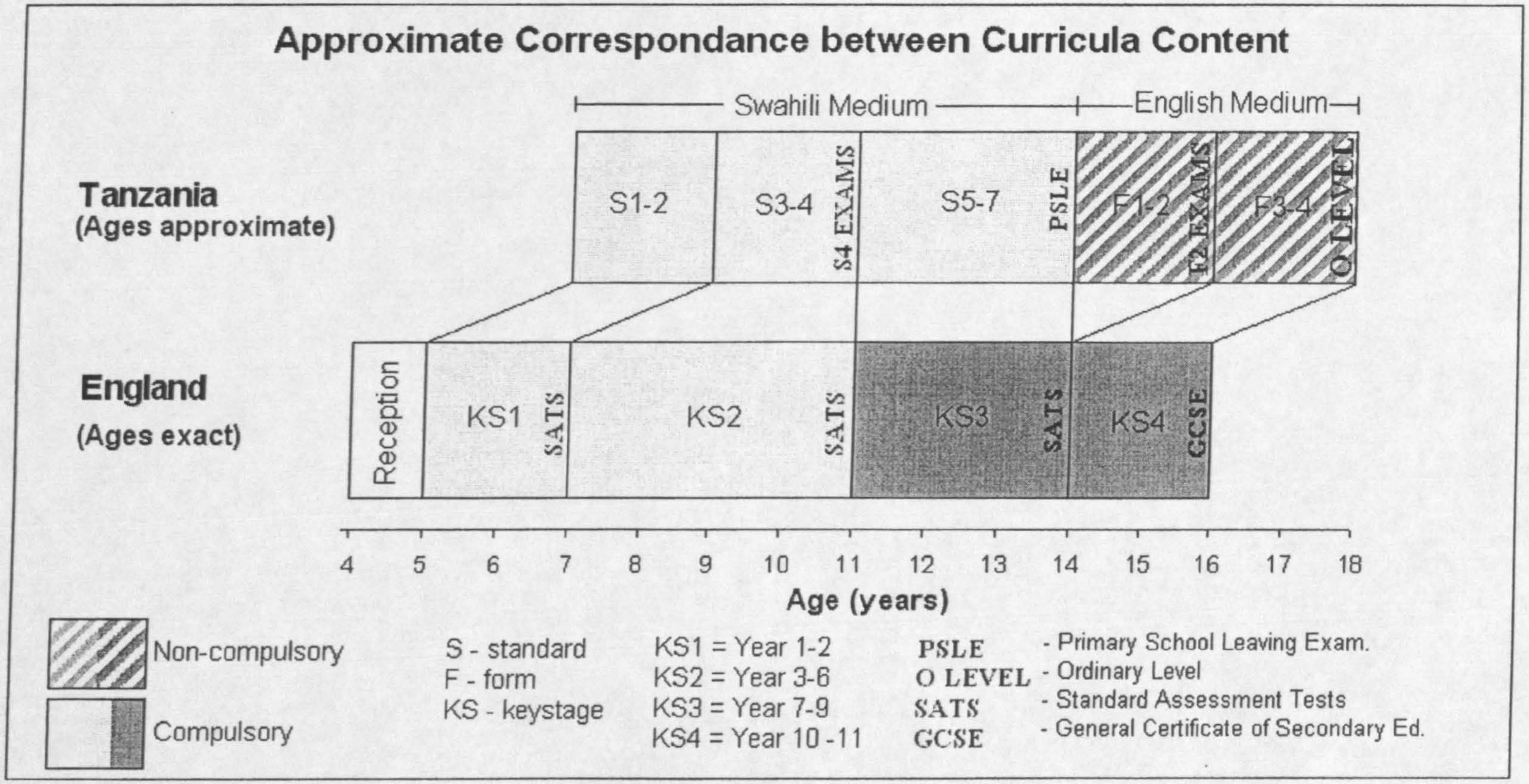


Fig. 4.2 Comparison of curricula in Tanzania and England



The actual age range currently enrolled in Tanzania's public primary schools is much wider than seven years, due to pupils starting S1 younger or older than the required age, repeating years and dropping out for a period. Although primary education has been statutorily compulsory since 1970 (MoEC, 1994:3), only since 2002 has this been strictly applied for the age group eligible to enter S1. On the whole this policy is being implemented as it has been reinforced by the abolition of primary school fees and an awareness-raising campaign. However, when many parents cannot produce birth certificates, it is not always possible to ascertain the exact age of children and neither is it easy to monitor policy implementation in remote schools. This was illustrated by an incident at Mandhari School, when a smartly dressed young man tried to enrol his skinny bare-foot child, who teachers first took to be his son, in S1. The man declared her to be a seven-year old girl but when the child was herself asked her age she said she was eleven.

The primary level in Tanzania spans the age range accommodated by Junior School (labelled as Keystage 2 on figure 4.1) and lower secondary (Keystage 3) in England and this is reflected in curricula content and organisation of teaching. Figure 4.2 outlines a very rough correspondence between the knowledge content of the two national curricula. It clearly shows the relative ambition of the Tanzanian education system in attempting to accomplish within the first four years of primary education and on the back of very patchy pre-primary provision a level of attainment that roughly corresponds to that expected after the first seven years (including the reception year) within the English system. Fig. 4.2 shows how the switch to English as the medium of instruction on entry to secondary school interrupts curricular progression. The content of the first two years of secondary in Tanzania is at a

similar level to S7 (the last year of primary) but delivered in a different language. Swahili and English are both official national languages of Tanzania but only Swahili is a *lingua franca*.

In English primary schools, each class group has its own classroom where most of their lessons are taught by their classteacher. At the start of a new academic year the class progresses to the classroom and classteacher allocated to the following year group. In secondary school, by contrast, classrooms and teachers, who are all subject specialists, are allocated to subject departments and class groups move from classroom to classroom according to their timetabled periods. They still have a classteacher and a 'homebase' classroom. The classteacher keeps track of attendance and has some limited pastoral responsibility. In Tanzanian primary schools each class is based for all their indoor lessons in a single classroom, very much like English primary schools. Also like English primary pupils, S1 and S2 are taught nearly all their lessons by their classteacher, who where possible has received specialised in-service training for the lower two years. However, the arrangement for S3-7 is closer to that in an English secondary school. Different subjects are taken by different teachers but the pupils remain based in their classroom and teachers move between the different classes. However, Tanzanian primary school teachers are not subject specialists. Like English primary school teachers, their pre-service training is supposed to prepare them to teach all subjects to all year groups. However, they do acquire some degree of subject specialism through in-service training and gravitating towards between one to three (depending on the number of teachers at the school) preferred subjects.

Promotion to the secondary level is automatic in England but dependent on the results of the Primary School Leaving Examinations (PSLE) in Tanzania. Only around 20% of S7 graduates in 2001 proceeded to a government or private secondary school (MoEC, 2002). The backwash effect of competition for secondary school places on the culture of primary education may be thought of as an instance of what Dore (1976) polemically called "the diploma disease". Pupils, parents and educators regard the PSLE as the most important point in a child's primary education career because it is pivotal to the direction of his or her future life. Much of S7 is taken up with mock examinations and, in urban areas, S7 pupils spend a good deal of time and their parents spend a good deal of money on "tuitions". These usually take the form of lessons conducted in a similar style to school lessons attended by similar class-sizes. It is not uncommon for teachers to compel their pupils to attend their private tuitions. Whilst the formal curriculum of the lower years, especially S1 and S2, are somewhat sheltered from the backwash, pupils are still subjected to a regimen of regular testing with the threat of repetition. Officially, repetition is permitted of the S4 year, if a pupil fails national examinations taken at the end of S4 at the first attempt. On the second attempt, the candidate should be allowed to continue to S5 even with a fail grade. However, in practice, parents prefer their children to repeat higher standards if they think this will increase their chances of passing the PSLE and teachers, who share their concerns, may not only permit but urge repetition. The PSLE is not only high stakes for pupils as individuals but also for schools. Performance in the PSLE is the single measure by which the quality of a school is judged and schools are ranked at the district, regional and national level according to the percentage of leavers achieving pass grades. Prizes, in the form of extra material resources, such as textbooks, are given to the schools that rank most

highly.

Hence, a superficial comparison of school systems suggests that the primary cycle in Tanzania very roughly corresponds to primary and lower secondary in England. In addition, in many schools the first two years of Tanzanian primary also absorb the learning content of pre-primary in England. Hence, the context of scarcity of educational provision at all levels has profound implications for the primary cycle, not least of which is that it effectively selects for entry to secondary. This has the consequence of magnifying the significance placed on examination success by all educational stakeholders, including parents, teachers and an administrative system that rewards schools for their pupils' examination success.

4.1.2 Comparison of structure of curricula

A more in-depth look at official curricula reveals differences in the quality and complexity of demands that they make of pupils and teachers. In both countries, government-funded schools are legally bound to follow a curriculum, which is published by a single central body, the Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE) and the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) in England. Each of these are closely linked to the department of government concerned with education, namely the Ministry for Education and Culture (MoEC) in Tanzania and the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) in England. Both countries have recently made major changes to curriculum. The 1995 Education and Training Policy (ETP) slimmed the unwieldy primary curriculum in Tanzania down from thirteen academic subjects to six by merging some subjects together. In addition, English language, Vocational Skills and Science were introduced into the first two years of primary representing a departure, although not for the first time in the history of Tanzanian education, from

the almost exclusive focus on numeracy and literacy in S1 and S2. Traditionally, English teachers have enjoyed exceptional autonomy with respect to classroom curriculum and practice. Hence, the introduction of a National Curriculum (NC) as part of the 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA) marked a turning point in the history of English Education.

Both countries' curricula are conceived of as a basis for equality of educational provision by defining "a learning entitlement" for all children (QCA, 1999:Values, Aims and Purposes). However, the curricula assume different means of ensuring equality of implementation. TIE publishes a syllabus for each of the compulsory subjects, except Religious Education. These give detail on subject content, learning objects, suggested teaching strategies and materials. In addition to the syllabi, schools across the country are issued instructions on the length and number of periods in a school day, the numbers of periods to be allocated to each subject, including elements of the curriculum for which there is no syllabus, such as games, Education for Self-Reliance (ESR), parade (equivalent to the English assembly) and *usafi* (cleaning the school compound). Hence, top-down control is exercised through directives on what is to be taught and for how many hours.

Table 4.2 Comparison of primary national curriculum subjects
Information on England taken from the INCA website (www.inca.org.uk, 02/08/2004)

	ENGLAND	TANZANIA
Subjects in NC or with syllabus	English Mathematics Science design & technology, *information and communication technology (ICT),* history, geography, art and design, music, and physical education	Swahili *Mathematics* English (not core S1-2) Science In S1-2 replaced *usafi* (hygiene) Vocational Skills Combines former subjects: Physical education Art incl. performing arts Domestic Science Agriculture & Economics Social Studies Combines former subjects: History Geography Civics
Required but no NC or syllabus	Religious Education Syllabus prepared by LEA, denominational schools exempt, parents may opt to withdraw their children.	Religious Education Conducted by faith denominations. Pupils organised in denominational rather than year groups. ESR (or Outdoor Work) Games
Non-statutory	Personal, social and health education Citizenship Sex education - parents may opt to withdraw their children. Modern languages schools "encouraged" to offer option of one language.	

At first sight the English NC is a more flexible framework that allows schools autonomy to decide how to deliver the NC. It does not specify the number of hours to be allocated to each subject; some subjects that do not have a NC are optional

(see table 4.2) and schools are free to add other subjects. The NC is supposed to be "an element of school curriculum" and guidelines provided on non-statuary elements of the school curriculum are for the main part intended as advice rather than regulations. In addition to the NC and in a distinctly top-down mode, the government has also issued a National Literacy Strategy and National Numeracy Strategy that recommend daily literacy and numeracy hours and provide detailed teaching frameworks and training materials for these. These frameworks are not statutory but a large majority of primary schools follow their recommendations (information from www.inca.org.uk, 02/08/2004).

As well as being a learning entitlement, the NC is also intended as a set of standards that can be used to monitor and compare performance between individuals and schools and set targets for improvement. Eight attainment target levels are specified for each element of the curriculum. The level at which pupils are expected to achieve depends on their age and ability. Hence, equality is interpreted as provision of education suited to the learning needs of every pupil. This contrasts with Tanzania's "one size fits all" curriculum which sets out to provide the same education to every pupil. English teachers are required to formatively assess, or 'track' pupils' performance against the qualitative attainment criteria. This is a more complex form of assessment than the regular testing that Tanzanian schools carry out, where pupils are ranked according to their scores. English teachers are effectively co-opted into monitoring not only their pupils' performance but also their own performance as reflected by their class group's achievement. Both countries have two rounds of national testing during the primary cycle, although parents in England have the option of withdrawing their children from these. In Tanzania, national examinations are

taken at the end of S4 and S7. In England, Standard Assessment Tests (SATS) are taken towards the end of each of Keystages 1 and 2, in Year 2 and Year 6 respectively. Both countries produce league tables that rank schools relative to each other according to the performance of their pupils so that the tests simultaneously measure the achievement of individual pupils and the success of schools. In fact, in England the tests have greater significance for schools than pupils, as pupils only carry their final GCSE results with them at the end of the basic education cycle.

The English NC also specifies "keyskills" of communication, application of number, information technology, working with others, improving own learning and problem solving and related "thinking skills" of information processing, reasoning, enquiry, creative thinking and evaluation. So curricular planning, already a more skilled task for English teachers because of the NC's relative flexibility, is complicated by a requirement to demonstrate incorporation of the "keyskills" and "thinking skills" across all subjects. In Tanzania, no attempt is made to draw connections between subjects. Teachers are required to produce schemes of work each term and lessons plans that show how and in what time scale they intend to cover the syllabus. In practice, not all schools require teachers to do this. In sum, preparing and assessing implementation of the English NC is more demanding of teacher time and skills than the Tanzanian syllabi. Tanzanian teachers are given explicit directives as to what they should teach when. This means there is little ambiguity as to the criteria on which they are assessed, namely on how often they turn up in class, how much of the syllabus they deliver within the required time frame and the percentage of their pupils who pass national and school-level examinations. The NC is less specific concerning the content of what is to be taught but does include a framework for

monitoring and assessing standards of teaching, not just though summative tests but also through formative measurement of pupils' competencies, a task which is carried out by teachers themselves. As such, the NC is a less direct and more diffuse framework for government control over curriculum than the Tanzanian syllabi and is also more demanding of teaching time and skills.

4.1.3 Comparison of value bases and aims of curricula

Both countries' curricula claim cultural, moral and social aims as well as referring to national economic goals. Tanzanian educational goals represent the concerns of a postcolonial nation for promoting a sense of national identity and unity and developing national industry in the absence of a welfare state to provide ongoing support to citizens. English educational goals reflect the concerns of a post-colonising nation to maintain harmony and social coherence as the cultural profile of the population rapidly diversifies as well as a preoccupation with economic competitiveness in international markets. The Tanzanian curriculum aims to develop the abilities and initiative of the individual towards the benefit and development of the nation. Hence, included amongst its general aims and objectives is:

> to develop and promote self-confidence and an enquiring mind, an understanding and respect for human dignity and human rights and a readiness to work hard for personal self-advancement and national improvement; (TIE, 1997:ii)

The English NC makes explicit claims to be inclusive at the same time as setting out a distinctly Western liberal value system based in ideals of equality, justice, individual autonomy and consumerism:

> "It should also equip pupils as consumers to make informed judgements and independent decisions and to understand their responsibilities and rights". (QCA, 1999:Values, aims and purposes)

The two countries' organisation of Religious Education represent two different approaches to diversity. The Tanzanian concept of national unity is compatible with religious diversity in a country where the vast majority of the population identify as either Christian or Muslim. Shortly after independence, many denominational schools were nationalised, a step which affirmed the authority of the state over education but also its determination to be bi-partisan with respect to religion. Two forty-minute periods a week are given over to Religious Education in all state primary and secondary schools, during which pupils are grouped according to denomination rather than age and are taught by a representative of their church, mosque or temple. In England, preparation of a religious education syllabus is devolved to the local level, allowing adaptation to the denominational profile of the local population. However, Local Education Authorities (LEAs) are advised that their "agreed syllabus should reflect the fact that the religious traditions in Great Britain are in the main Christian, while taking account of the teachings and practices of the other principal religions represented in Great Britain" (QCA, 1999). In some large cities a significant proportion of the local population do not consider themselves as belonging to a Christian heritage.

Nyerere's ideal of Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) still remains an important influence on Tanzanian primary education. ESR was formulated in the late sixties in response to insatiable demands for post-compulsory education, the growing 'problem' of educated unemployed, their potential for political agitation and a shared vision of newly independent African countries for economic sustainability (Nyerere, 1967:267-290). Nyerere conceived of self-reliance at the level of the nation state as meaning cultural and economic independence and at the level of the individual as

meaning being economically productive and mentally liberated from feelings of inferiority. Hence, ESR stressed that primary education should prepare children for self-employment in rural environments rather than preparing a minority to continue for secondary education and inducing in the majority a sense of having failed. However, Nyerere's philosophies and the socialist policies they inspired were not able to stem the tide of enthusiasm for formal education. Consequently, primary education has inherited the conflicting aims of being a preparation for work in the informal sector and a preparation for the secondary level, simultaneous with an ideological commitment to provide equality of opportunity. The tension between education for self-reliance and education for educational promotion can be seen in the list of curriculum subjects given in table 4.2. The curriculum does cover an impressive selection of applied manual skills but these are all squeezed into the single subject of Vocational Skills. Learning as doing, a tenet of ESR that has it roots in an interpretation of child-raising practices in pre-colonial societies (Nyerere, 1967; Tedla, 1995), is pushed to the edges of the school curriculum, where it is rarely turned into a planned programme of learning. More positively, elements of the science, social studies and Mathematics syllabi are contextualised to rural and poor urban environments. For example, practical hygiene and health knowledge are privileged in the lower years of the science syllabus and Mathematics includes "Mathematics for business", intended to be relevant to self-employment in the informal sector.

An effective compromise has been reached, which is to concentrate on the basic skills of literacy and numeracy in S1 and S2, with space also given to hygiene. Despite the recent broadening of the S1 and S2 curriculum, these three subjects

continue to be privileged. In S3 more time is given to the knowledge-based subjects, which are taught with a practical and local bias. So, for example in science, pupils learn about common diseases, how to avoid them and are advised to make use of medical facilities in their area. In the upper years, the arrangement of knowledge and its delivery increasingly resembles the de-contextualised format of secondary school, which is based on the old Cambridge O level syllabus. So, for example, science topics in S6 and S7 include different parts of the body and how they work.

To summarise, the Tanzanian curriculum claims to aim to prepare pupils to contribute to national development whilst the aims and values of the English curriculum indicate that it is intended to prepare consumers. The Tanzanian curriculum aims to instil the skills and attitudes of self-reliance together with a sense of national identity and patriotism. It struggles to prepare children both for self-employment in the informal sector and for possible progression to secondary school and ultimate employment in the formal sector, within the framework of a "one size fits all" curriculum. The English NC sets out a value basis rooted in the Western liberal tradition including respect for other traditions and cultures, which is intended to make primary education equally accessible to all pupils, whatever their home and ethnic background.

4.1.4 Summary of comparison

The brief comparison of structure and curricula suggests two sources of tension within the Tanzanian education system and potential for conflict within the English system. The most obvious tension is caused by the Tanzanian context of scarcity, which results in the primary level trying to do very much more than the primary level in England with very much less. It aims, within seven years, to prepare children, the

majority of whom have no formal pre-primary education, both to enter the world of work and to compete for places in a secondary education system that operates in what is practically a foreign language. This, it attempts to achieve with a pupil to teacher ratio which is over twice as large as that in UK (46 to 1 for Tanzania in 2002 as opposed to 18 to 1 in UK, UIS, 2002). In addition, teachers in Tanzania have received between five and nine fewer years of academic education prior to admission to a teacher training course (see table 4.3 and Ax. 3.1 for more detail) and are paid very much less. The starting monthly salary for a Tanzanian teacher was roughly equivalent to £40 in 2002 (information from interviewees, converted using exchange rate at the time data were collected) compared to £1500 paid to a teacher in England and Wales (excluding London and fringe, main salary scale point 1, April 2003, information from National Union of Teachers, www.nut.org.uk/, 02/08/2004). How teachers experience and respond to the tension created by ambitious policy expectations in context of economic scarcity is addressed in chapters six and seven.

The excessive policy expectations loaded on the Tanzanian primary cycle and the scarcity of secondary provision creates a second tension. Despite intentions that primary schools prepare the majority of pupils to enter the informal economy, schools are actually assessed according to their success at preparing them for the entry examination to secondary school. The challenge of designing a curriculum that both prepares for work and for secondary education within a system that in principle is emphatically comprehensive has proved to be an impossible one. In other words, in drawing up the primary curriculum, the Tanzanian government is constrained by its lack of capacity to provide enough years of education to fulfil its own aims. How the resulting curricular conflict is worked out in classroom practice and reflected in

teachers' educational values is addressed by chapter eight, which focuses on teachers' classroom practice and educational values.

Table 4.3: Comparison of teachers' education in Tanzania and England

	Teacher qualification	Level of academic education	Teacher Training	% of serving teachers
Tanzania	Grade C	Primary	2 yrs	50%
	Grade B	2 yrs Secondary	2 yrs	
	Grade A	4 yrs Secondary	2 yrs	49%
	Diploma[1]	6 yrs 2ry	Grade A + 1 yr for diploma	1 %
England	B.Ed.	1st degree includes teacher training		-
	PGCE	1st degree	1 yr	-
	Masters[2]	Masters	B.Ed. or PGCE + 1 yr for Masters	-

"yrs" – years - data unavailable
[1] teachers study for A level in spare time to gain admission to diploma or degree course.
[2] taken by a few teachers mid-career.

There are also tensions within the English system. Comparison of the curricula suggests that relative national affluence has implications for control. With better financed bureaucratic resources to hand, the government in England and Wales has been able to construct and implement a national curriculum, which although less prescriptive than the Tanzanian one constitutes a more pervasive and arguably invasive legislative framework for assessing and monitoring teachers' work. Hoyle & John (1995), reviewing the historical development of teacher professionalisation in Britain, comment that even during periods when educators enjoyed an exceptional degree of autonomy with respect to curriculum and classroom practice, government still retained the legislative power to retrieve control should it wish to. This is exactly what government did do in the run up to 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA) that introduced a national curriculum for the first time in Britain's educational history. To caricature the structure of the two national curricula, whilst the Tanzanian curriculum

is a means by which government dictates to schools the English NC is a means by which government monitors schools. Control in the Tanzanian system consists in giving instructions, whilst in the English system it consists far more in creating structures for accountability. Both systems also measure performance through national testing. This suggests two potential pairs of competing imperatives within the English system. In England, control is being exerted over a workforce that has historically enjoyed substantial autonomy with respect to classroom practice and is educated to a higher level than Tanzanian teachers. Hence, the government's imperative to control and monitor has the potential to come into conflict with teachers' expectation of autonomy. The comparison also highlights a disparity within the English NC in that whilst assessment is more pervasive, what is being assessed is less specifically defined. It is possible that this disparity may act to neutralise the conflict between well-developed accountability structures and well-developed teacher professionalism, as teachers' time and skills are absorbed in coming to terms with a more complex curriculum rather than exercising autonomy. Teachers' own educational values and how they relate to the views and aims of government in England are the topic of a desktop inquiry in the next chapter.

4.2 Dual-site school case study

The descriptive accounts presented in this and the next section are constructed from data collected during observation in the two focus schools. Main features of the two schools, Isega in Shinyanga town and Mandhari in Mkuranga district, are given in table 3.3 (p. 60). As explained in section 3.2.4, the studies of the two schools were more different in nature than planned. At Isega, I gained a greater insight into the school as an organisation, whereas at Mandhari I learnt more about individual teachers, their career histories and lifes outside of school. Isega was also the school

I visited first and, although I kept a detailed field diary at both schools, the fact that I was on a steeper learning curve at Isega and was mentally and physically fresher did effect the quality of my fieldnotes. Hence, the findings relating to school context are based on my observations of Isega except where it is indicated that a description is of Mandhari and where the typicality of Isega is discussed with reference to other schools visited. The names of the two schools and the teachers have been changed.

The first sub-section intertwines a description of the geography and history of Isega School with an abbreviated history of primary education policy development in Tanzania. Running the narratives in parallel explicitly links the history of one school to its policy context. Following the same pattern as the personal teacher narratives in chapter seven, the description of Isega School covers past history, present condition and aspirations for the school's future development. The starting point is the present day geography of the school compound, which has written into it the school's 'life-history' and potentialities for its future growth. Isega was built during a period of massive expansion of public services, including primary education, in the 1970s. In many ways, the implementation of Nyerere's socialist *Ujamaa* policies, first laid out in the 1967 Arusha Declaration was a more radical break with the past than independence, achieved in 1961. The establishment of Isega is therefore an appropriate starting point for a modern history of education policy in the primary sub sector.

4.2.1 A geography and history of Isega Primary School

The school buildings consist of three single storey classroom blocks topped with corrugated iron, enclosing three sides of a central courtyard of decorative flowerbeds. Only a few hardy cactus-like plants have survived the dry season but the orderly lines

of white-painted stones demarcating footpaths give the impression of a well-tended compound. The parade ground, where the whole school assembles, is a bare area of swept sand in front of the classrooms. The school has seven classrooms, one for each year group from standard one (S1) up to standard seven (S7), and three offices, one in each classroom block. The newest office serves as the headteacher's office (HTO) and school store. The smallest is the teachers' office (TO). When all eleven teachers are assembled, they have to shuffle around their chairs to let people in and out. The third office has been taken over by the kindergarten class (*awali*) and is daily occupied by 45 young children, sitting on the floor or low makeshift wooden stools they have brought from home.

1970s: Ujamaa and UPE

The history of the school and aspirations for its future are charted in the buildings and empty areas of the compound. The school's first classroom block stood on what is now the parade ground. It was a wattle and daub construction built in 1976 by and for the residents of Isega, a village located a few kilometres from Shinyanga that is now known as Isega A. Like many modern day Tanzanian villages, Isega A is described as an 'Ujamaa village', meaning that it was created or significantly expanded by a compulsory programme of 'villagization' between 1973 and 1976. Hyden (1980:130) estimated that, in Africa's largest ever internal migration, roughly 5 million peasants were re-located from dispersed homesteads into more governable villages that could serve as centres for the delivery of welfare services and local government. This was Nyerere's answer to the dilemma that had previously perplexed colonial government, "what to do with an endless number of small holder peasants whose concerns do not extend to the nation as a whole" (Hyden, 1980:130). Villages were encouraged, with more or less success, to construct

schools in the spirit of self-reliance, quite literally out of the ground. Government assigned and paid teachers to work in these schools.

That communities in different parts of Tanzania reacted variously to the obligations imposed on them by *Ujamaa* is illustrated by the experiences of two female informants posted to village schools at that time. In 1978, only three years after she had qualified, Mwl. Priscilla Andrew (not her real name) was sent to be headteacher of a new village school in a Mkuranga district:

> When I went to work there, even the house that I lived in, it was just work. It still had a long way to go. I saw that the work was hard. There were no houses, they were still being built at that time, they were not yet finished. My work was to supervise the building. ... The building was done voluntarily by the parents. Now volunteering has its problems. The parents, who had a heart to build, were few. (BMPMf7:6)

Unsurprisingly, Mwl. Andrew developed a health problem and after one year was transferred to an established and more centrally located school. By contrast, Mwl. Frida Boshe (not her real name) had happy memories of community involvement in Shinyanga. Under her husband's headship, a school expanded from four classrooms for S1-4 into one that could accommodate the complete primary cycle:

> Now the headteacher involved the community, "Lets build a fifth classroom so that all those who finish S4 can study right here." The society at that time were enlightened, truly they set to. The district council contributed building materials, but the building work was the labour of parents. The parents built with one heart and in a short time they had finished two classrooms and an office. Without using money, they brought food, corrugated iron, wood and nails. The building work was done through the strength of citizens. Truly, 1973 we started S5 but we still needed to expand the school compound. ... Parents agreed to abandon their plots for the school. (AISRf6:5)

1980s-1990s: Stagnation and corruption

Investment in the public sector in the 1970s was facilitated by buoyant export markets in agricultural crops such as coffee. The depression following the collapse of oil prices hit Tanzania as hard as any low-income country. In 1984, later than

most, Tanzania capitulated to pressure from the World Bank, to implement Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) that curtailed spending on public services, amongst other austerity measures (Samoff with Sumra, 1994). Primary education continued to expand but the rate of expansion was slowed to below the rate of population increase, causing enrolment ratios to drop. At the international, national and village level momentum for primary education floundered. In this climate of low investment, Isega School had to wait fifteen years before the community managed to supplement the 'temporary' mud classrooms by one of the permanent blocks still standing now. Even then, funds did not stretch to finishing and the classrooms were used in a semi-complete state for several more years. The physical state of the school reflected on its reputation. A teacher, who served at the school for eighteen years, reminisced, "It was just mud, if you said that you taught at Isega no one respected you".

The tide turned first at the international level, when rates of return analyses convinced The World Bank of a link between national economic wealth and provision of basic education. Teaming up with UNESCO, it instigated the World Convention at Jomtien, which marked the start of the movement for Education for All (EFA) that continues to galvanize multilateral and bilateral agencies, international NGOs and national governments. During the nineties, the Tanzanian government, academic advisers and international 'stakeholders' thrashed out a series of policy documents (a process charted by Buchert, 1997). Having less inertia than a national education system, donor agencies adjusted their policies more quickly resulting in scattered projects throughout Tanzania, aimed at expanding provision and improving quality of primary education.

In 1998, in preparation for just such a project, Oxfam GB Tanzania conducted base-line research at Isega School (Dyer, 1998). They found a shortage of desks obliged pupils to sit on the floor, lessons were regularly taught under trees and the original poorly maintained wattle and daub block was still in use despite the risk of a wall collapsing. Shinyanga town had expanded and an area neighbouring the school, known as Isega B, had become Shinyanga's most affluent residential area. The residents of Isega B were over-represented on a confident school committee, which was beginning to mobilise building projects. These plans were subsequently stalled when headship passed to an unscrupulous individual, reputed to have conspired with the school chairman in siphoning off community contributions (information from the school committee members). The scars of his headship are still visible in the form of ploughing furrows over school land he rented to neighbouring farmers for his own profit. Within two years, members of the school committee mutinied. They removed their chairman and demanded the district education office (DEO) transfer the headteacher away least they exercise their powers to dismiss him. The DEO obliged and, in the usual manner that such crises are resolved, the headteacher was demoted to ordinary teacher status and transferred to another school. Such episodes are disappointingly common. An incompetent headteacher had been recently transferred away from three of the twenty schools I visited. What is less common is the confidence and determination with which local residents removed the school leaders.

2000-2: UPE again

The new headteacher, Victor Baare (not his actual name), a man with considerable experience of school leadership, was still in place when I carried out my fieldwork. Since his arrival, the combination of a hardworking headteacher, a confident

committee, the wealth of urban Isega B residents and the labour of Isega A villagers proved exceptionally successful. Through donor funding, government funding and community contributions in the form of money, materials, labour and professional expertise, two more concrete classroom blocks were constructed and the first one renovated. Oxfam, which supported the school as part of their project, provided materials for the construction of one of the new blocks and hygienic concrete latrines. It also supplied pupils' desks and office furniture. The old mud classrooms were demolished. Mwl. Baare also attempted to raise staff morale, which he described as being very low when he arrived. The performance of S7 in the primary leaving examination improved dramatically so that the school's national ranking rose from the twenty-eighth percentile from top in 2000 to the fifth percentile in 2001. Isega became the district's biggest success story and accordingly something of a 'showcase school'.

As Isega was being transformed, a new national plan for universalising primary education was being put into action, the product of several years' policy-making activity. The Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP) has been actively implemented since 2001. In 2002 alone, 15,817 classrooms were built, an average of 1.3 classrooms per school, and the total number of teachers increased by 5.8%. At the same time, an increase of over a million or 23% in pupil enrolments has deteriorated the average teacher to pupil ratio from 1:46 to 1:53 (figures collected by MoEC and reported in URT, 2003). Schools, like Isega, established during a national drive towards UPE in the 1970s are now being expanded as part of an international campaign. Despite these numerical achievements, primary schools in Tanzania are still running to catch up with voracious demand. Teachers, especially those in or

close to urban centres, are reaping benefits from the massive investment, in the form of improved resources and professional development programmes, often funded directly by donor organisations. At the same time, increase in enrolments makes effective practice a logistical impossibility in many classrooms.

At Isega, villagers started work on the construction of a fourth classroom block during the week of my fieldwork. When I returned six months later the walls were already completed. Enrolments also increased between my two visits. UPE policies and the new buildings motivated villagers from Isega A to enrol their children in school younger and keep them in school longer. Isega B parents, who could chose between several nearby schools, were increasingly attracted by recent examination success. The S2 group of 2002, which had been taught in two short shifts, had now been promoted to S3 and was accommodated as two parallel streams running at the same time. In addition, a MEMKWA (*Mpango wa Elimu ya Msingi kwa Walioikosa*) stream had been added to accommodate uneducated children too old to enter S1. Nine class groups were now trying to squeeze into seven classrooms. Consequently, classes were once again being taught under trees. The extra workload and shortage of classroom space was taking its toll on teachers who, despite two additional appointments, appeared tired and demoralised.

Isega, like the other focus school Mandhari, had features both of a town and village school, although the former was officially considered a town school and the latter a village one. The schools in the best physical condition were either large town schools or had enjoyed extensive support from a sponsor, which or who had entirely re-built the school. Town schools also had the most intense pressure on classroom

space due to registering roughly three times as many pupils as village schools. The ten town schools visited had on average 104 enrolled pupils for each classroom, compared to 74 for the village schools. Eight of the town schools were operating two shifts. Despite this, packed classrooms were still a common sight in the Kibaha districts, with children sitting on the floor within a yard of the blackboard. The most extreme case was a school in Shinyanga town, which had 14 classrooms but still had to teach lessons outside in order to accommodate 1900 pupils in two shifts. On the other hand, four of the eleven village schools I visited were still using wattle and daub classrooms that were in poor repair. I was told that there were schools, further from the beaten track then I was able to reach, that had nothing but mud classrooms. We drove past one such school, where it was unbelievable that its lean-to shacks could accommodate the forty or so bedraggled pupils standing in the parade area. In front of the school, a sturdy notice board announced the imminent inception of a construction project, funded by Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA).

The future

At Isega, enthusiasm for building persists. School committee members, passionately proud of the school's progress, pointed out to me the imagined sites of future building projects. Within a few years they hoped to have two classrooms for each year group, the maximum allowed before government guidelines recommend starting a new school. They also envisaged a purpose built nursery, a school library and, one day, a secondary school, all located within the ample compound of the current primary school. "I want this to become Isega Education Complex", declared the school chairman, a civil engineer in the local government's Department for Works. The village chairman of Isega A, a builder and farmer, was more circumspect:

> We have built slowly and steadily (*taratibu*) because we are farmers and rains are unpredictable. If there is not enough rain, people are hungry and cannot contribute

> to the school. Any little money they manage to lay their hands on is used to buy food for their families. So we build slowly and steadily. (Isega Diary, 01-11-03, lines 2063-2084)

the international EFA movement more than matches Isega community members in its ambition but not its patience. The World Education Forum, held in the Dakar, Senegal, deferred the target for achieving the goals of universal access to primary education and improving all aspects of the quality worldwide from 2000 to 2015.

4.3 The school day

This section is structured by the temporal organisation of the school day. The literature on African schools includes insightful descriptions of lessons (e.g. Prophet, 1995; Croft, 2002), detailed accounts of headteachers' work (e.g. Dadey & Harber, 1991) and perceptive ethnographic investigations of school culture (e.g. Masemann, 1974; Arthur, 1998). Most of this exemplary work has been carried out in secondary schools, which tend to be more accessible to outside researchers, and detailed description of early morning activities are missing altogether. The activities and 'rituals' (Bernstein, 1975) that started off the school day fascinated me because they seemed so essential in establishing and maintaining the school culture. The so-called "hidden curriculum" was most strikingly revealed and communicated to pupils before lessons covering the academic curriculum began. So, this section starts with a detailed description of the morning routine at Isega, highlighting teacher-teacher, teacher-pupil and pupil-pupil interactions, followed by a discussion of the typicality of Isega. As the day unfolds routine slips and the implemented timetable departs from the formal one. As order breaks down in the school day so the structure of the text becomes less linear, moving between Isega and Mandhari. The hidden curriculum includes informal elements that are both intentional, such as disciplinary codes, and

unintentional, such as the competition for food during break. Elements of the unintended curriculum are described under the title "Formal and implemented timetable". The section finishes with a description of an afternoon scene at Mandhari, providing a contrast to the regularity of early morning events.

4.3.1 Morning routine at Isega

Walk to school

Sunrise, with its equatorial regularity, marks the start of the day for town and village dwellers alike. At 6.45 am, low sunlight imbues the world with an extra depth of colour. The dust-covered foliage, parched for the imminent rains, takes on a warm glow. I am in a relatively wealthy neighbourhood on the fringes of Shinyanga town. In a few private compounds, bright coloured flowers testify to the miracle of piped water. It is barely three years since a third of this town was infected by a cholera epidemic that claimed the lives of thousands. The Tanzanian government responded by requesting Oxfam's assistance in establishing a safe water supply, starting an interest in the town and neighbouring districts that has led to my own invitation from Oxfam GB Tanzania to carry out part of my research here. Here or there a bicycle picks a path along the sandy roads. School children, alone or in groups, cross each others' path following their habitual routes to various schools. Older students wear the distinctive uniforms of the town's only government secondary school, complete with bow tie. They are outnumbered several times over by primary pupils, the boys in khaki shorts, the girls in navy cotton skirts, all wearing white shirts. Only up close is it possible to identify their school by the emblem printed on their breast pockets. The draw-string polyester bags slung across their backs and the five litre jerry cans at their sides form bright splashes of primary colours against the orange dust. Many carry brushes made of twigs or grasses, to be used in cleaning the school

compound.

Isega pupils are easily recognisable, not from their appearance, but the direction in which they headed – out of town. Isega Primary School is a literal boundary marker between the two communities it serves, which could hardly be more different. Isega A is a village of wattle and daub houses populated by peasants, who make a living from a combination of small-hold farming and petty business or trade-skills. Most of the villagers belong to Tanzania's largest tribe, the Sukuma and the Sukuma language is lingua franca in the village, although many residents are also fluent in Swahili. Isega B is a low-density residential suburb made up of households headed by white-collar workers, who have come to Shinyanga following employment, or businessmen. A very few of the houses boast satellite dishes. Midway between village and suburbia, the school is somewhat isolated, surrounded by its under-utilised land and arable plots.

Besides the occasional group of pupils, the first sign of the school is a single upright cement slab positioned at the beginning of the road leading off to the school and Isega A. It bears the school motto, "To educate myself according to my ability and to use my education for the benefit of all" (*Kujielimisha kwa kadiri ya uwezo wangu na kutumia elimu yangu kwa faidi ya waote*). Like most Tanzanian schools, Isega has no fence. Its perimeter is demarcated by a line of trees on one side, a road on another and low bushes on two sides. Complaints of organisations or individuals building on school land are common in Tanzania and pupils, who wish to, can easily truant from the compound during the school day.

Jogging and usafi

The school day starts with roll call at 6.45 am. When I reach the school, a little before seven, children are still arriving and continue to arrive throughout the next half hour. The classrooms are still locked so children hang their bags from the short leafless trees dotted about the compound before going to join their fellows jogging around the sports pitch, a field of yellowing grass about the size of a football pitch. By seven, most of the school are jogging and singing in unison, exuding youthful energy. Pendo, an unusually confident S3 pupil informs me, "They like the singing not the running". Some pupils clutch bags, brushes or jerry cans, which make them clumsy. Mwl. Magret Njelekela, the duty teacher for the week, supervises. She stands in the middle of the field, a pile of sweaters slung over her arm. At seven sharp, she starts ushering her charges towards the parade area, playfully jogging alongside them and then falling back to bring up the rear.

As Mwl. Njelekela arrives in the central area, pupils are already breaking up into their class groups and drifting off to different parts of the compound. She calls out for Pita, the hapless owner of all the carelessly discarded layers of clothing she had gathered up. She then sets about issuing orders to monitors and class groups, hectoring sleepy pupils into the next activity of the day - '*usafi*', cleaning the school compound. Shortly, Mwl. Maganga, joins her, the first non-duty teacher to arrive despite her young family. She has barely set foot in the school compound before a politely curtseying pupil relieves her of her handbag, carrying it to the doorstep of the still locked Teachers' Office (TO), where it joins that of Mwl. Njelekela. Mwl. Maganga greets her colleague with the form of address for elders, "Shikamoo". They briefly exchange a few words, before she heads off to another part of the compound and starts barking out instructions to pupils.

Mwl. Njelekela, noticing a group of around twelve young pupils perched sleepy-eyed on a pile of stones, intended for the school's current building project, calls out repeatedly, "Who is the S1 monitor?" A S6 boy comes running and she delivers instructions to the S1 group who obediently join in the activity. By now, clouds of dust are being thrown up as pupils work in groups of two to five sweeping the bare sand that covers much of the compound. Mwl. Njelekela summons the nursery group, who gather around her in a tight huddle. She talks to them gently, "Why have you not got paper? Go and look for paper", they break up into smaller groups, some of them running in their enthusiasm to obey orders. A few minutes later, I come across four of them once more looking subdued and sleepy, sitting between two classroom blocks, out of view of the supervising teachers, clutching scraps of paper.

Mwl. Baare the headmaster cycles into work, steering his bicycle with one hand and holding his pocket radio, aerial extended downwards, in the other. He cycles directly up to the door of his office, already shouting out instructions. As he dismounts, a S6 pupil smoothly takes charge of his bicycle. Within seconds the headteacher's office is opened and a prefect has obtained the box of keys for opening other rooms. In the TO, Mwl. Maganga locates the teacher's register, writes in Magret Njelekela's name, her own and the headmaster's with their time of arrival. She signs next to her own name and hands the pen to Mwl. Baare, who has just entered the room, with a curtsey. After signing he strides over to the road-end of the compound, pointing out neglected litter to pupils on his way, his un-relinquished radio still reporting the nation's news. More teachers arrive, preceded to the TO by a pupil carrying their bags. Each one signs in before joining the supervision of *usafi*.

In one corner of the compound a group of teenage girls stand resentfully silent by a tree, jerry cans at their feet. A frustrated monitor demands why no one is cleaning the latrines. Outside their classroom, a group of S3 children argue with another monitor. As she walks away, one of the group successfully persuades his peers to follow her orders. Around the flowerbeds an older pupil takes a light grip on the sleeve of a younger pupil, who grins cheekily and pretends to resist being forcefully dragged to his work. He breaks free, laughing but runs in a circle that takes him back to his older friend, who directs him to carry away a small pile of rubbish. As the work comes to an end, pupils break up into friendship groups until, at 7.32 am, a monitor announces parade by striking a rusty car wheel hub that serves as the school bell.

Parade

Children immediately start congregating in the parade area. Soon the whole school, with the exception of a few still finishing their allotted cleaning duties, are arranged into long rows. From a distance the rows appear uniform. Closer up the disparity in children's home environments is evident. Some are smart in clean, ironed clothes. The uniforms of many are miss-fitting or incomplete. Once white shirts are frayed with buttons missing. About a quarter of the pupils are barefoot and many more wear flip flops rather than the regulation white socks and black shoes sported by the smarter and wealthier children.

Mwl. Njelekela summons the school's attention, first with a greeting and then the snappy instruction, "Stand to attention, stand at ease" (*migoo pande, migoo sawa*). Today is one of the two days in the week when parade is taken up with inspection. A group of three female teachers stand in front and to one side of the lines, chatting

casually until one prompts her companions, "Let's start inspecting," and they move towards S1. They tuck in frayed shirts, pat down collars and adjust safety pins holding up oversized skirts. Here and there, a paternalistic pat on the head reprimands hair that is unwashed or too long. The two deputy headteachers target the older, S5 and S6 students lined up at the back, demanding to see teeth and nails. The penetrative voice of one carries over the parade ground, "Don't laugh, this is not funny, show me your teeth". The worst offenders are sent to the front where a monitor records their names.

When the inspection is completed the headgirl re-focuses attention with the "*Miguu pande, miguu sawa*" command before leading the school into the first line of the national anthem. All the teachers stand to attention but only two or three join in the singing. The pupils sing, without straining, shouting or muttering. When the headgirl leads with the first line of another patriotic song, "Tanzania, Tanzania", the duty teacher promptly corrects her, "You are starting too low". Mwl. Njelekela talks to the school briefly. Her last words are, "Don't forget to water the flowers". Many of the pupils have their jerry cans at their feet and as they head towards the classrooms deposit the contents on the flowerbeds. The younger year groups make a dash to their classrooms whilst S5 and S6 stroll unhurriedly, breaking into spontaneous song as they go.

4.3.2 Discussion of typicality of Isega

All government primary schools in Tanzania start the day at the same time with whole school activities similar to those described above and always with one or two duty teachers in attendance. Mandhari, had a more flexible routine than Isega. *Usafi* sometimes continued as late as 7.45, there was not always time for patriotic songs

and on one day the parade time was taken up with collecting 'contributions', in the form of cassava branches for planting in the school farm and fronds from coconut trees for constructing a fence. Another day, the time was used for punishing pupils, who had persistently arrived late. Around fifty pupils received two cane strokes whilst another group were kept kneeling during a verbal reprimand. Once a week the whole school was led in '*Gwaride*" or physical exercise. This took the form of an army parade type drill in Isega, whilst in Mandhari exercises such as star jumps were included. In both schools, the activity was an enjoyable one, partly due to the humourous cajolement of the teacher leading the exercise.

On my second visit to Isega, six months later, no children were barefoot. During the first visit, Victor Baare had stated that the school was trying to educate parents not to send their children to school barefoot. At Mandhari, the MEMKWA class was the most shabbily dressed with several pupils showing signs of malnutrition. In village schools, it was usual for about three-quarters of the pupils to be barefoot and a substantial proportion to have visible signs of malnutrition. A teacher with responsibility for health-related matters in her school claimed that when a donor agency tested the whole school about two years previous, they discovered that all the pupils and teachers were anaemic and three-quarters had bilharizia, a water-born disease that causes fatigue. Pupils in towns tended to be better off. Nearly all had intact uniforms, although it was still common to attend school in flip-flops. Nonetheless, some town teachers interviewed were concerned that not all their pupils ate breakfast.

Teachers and pupils alike took a pride in the appearance of their school. Prizes were

awarded by the district for the most attractive and well-tended school compound. During the two fieldtrips, I heard various people, ranging from donor agency staff to S5 pupils talk of the appearance of the compound as if it were an indicator of school quality. Quite simply, a school community that took pride in itself, took pride in its physical appearance fully aware that this sent a clear message to outsiders about its worth. Hence, a smart new permanent classroom block, especially if it was the school's first, could transform a school's institutional esteem. One teacher estimated that the construction of permanent classroom blocks together with a change of headship had resulted in an eightfold increase in attendance at her village school in Shinyanga.

The preoccupation with the compound in Tanzania may be compared to the attention given to corridors in English primary schools, notorious for their carefully arranged displays of children's work (Broadfoot & Osborn, 1993; Alexander, 2000). 'Showing off' children's work encourages pupils to take pride but also signals the school's accomplishments to visitors. Tanzanian schools do not have indoor connections between classrooms, so the outdoor space between classrooms serves the same utilitarian function as corridors in an English school. Also, the cleanliness and attractiveness of school compounds, like the displays of English schools, is achieved through the efforts of pupils under the supervision of teachers. The most colourful and attractive school I visited, had grown flowerbeds from seeds and seedlings children brought from home. In several schools in Coast Region, older pupils had painted murals on the exterior walls depicting textbook themes such as diagrams of electric circuits and portraits of historically important national personalities.

4.3.3 Formal and implemented timetable

All primary schools in Tanzania are bound to an official timetable consisting of eight forty minute periods a day for S3-7 and six thirty minute periods for S1-2. The timing of breaks and end of the school day depended on whether the school is classed as town or village and on the number of shifts. Village schools have an hour and forty-minute break for lunch, allowing pupils time to go home for a meal, so that curricular lessons end at 1520 hours. The afternoon break for town schools is only twenty minutes long so curricular lessons end much eariler at 1400 hours. Many large town schools operated two overlapping shifts. In town and village schools, S1-2 were divided into two consecutive shifts. The village timetable appeared inconvenient for teachers and pupils, who often travelled several kilometres to the school and did not have breakfast before leaving home. In Mkuranga district, which has an exceptionally low density of schools, teachers claimed that not all pupils made the journey back to school after the lunch break. The only explanation I was ever given for having a different village timetable was that it was intended to prevent children having too much free time or being over-used on family farms.

The official timetable, displayed in the HTO, extended for an extra hour in both types of schools for extra-curricular activities. Twice a week the last hour was assigned to literacy classes for adults (*EWW – elimu ya watu wazima*). In fact, the last hour of activities did not take place once during observation at either of the focus schools. Manual work tended to be organised in response to an immediate need, as when Isega had to plant trees in time for an inspection by the town council. At Isega, teachers and pupils were more likely to return to school at 1600 hours, for 'tuition' in preparation for examinations or for urgent manual work than they were to delay their

lunch for an extra hour by staying back to 3 pm. In general, schools implemented a demanding and inconvenient official timetable with pragmatic flexibility.

Table 4.4: S3-7 timetables for single shift town & village schools

TOWN		VILLAGE	
0645	Pupil start to arrive arrive Jogging	0645	Pupil start to arrive arrive Jogging
0700	Usafi	0700	Usafi
0730	Parade/Inpsection Gwaride/extended usafi	0730	Parade/Inpsection Gwaride/extended usafi
0800	Periods 1-3	0800	Periods 1 - 3
1000	BREAK	1000	BREAK
1020	Periods 4-6	1020	Periods 4-6 Periods 5&6 on Fridays – religion.
1220	Break	1220	Lunch Break
1240	Periods 7-8 Periods 7-8 on Fridays - religion		
1400-1500	ESR (work on school farm), parade exercises, games or adult literacy classes.	1400	Periods 7-8
		1520-1620	ESR (work on school farm), parade exercises, games or adult literacy.

This flexibility extended to the curricular component of the timetable. As the school day progresses, there was a tendency for increasing deviation from the timetable as teachers and pupils became tired and hungry, the day became hotter and unscheduled activities cropped up, such as registering next year's S1 intake or collecting salaries. The 'bell' was not always rung on time, lessons ran late, teachers might step into a slot created by absenteeism of a colleague to 'catch up' with a

class. Official timetable, implemented timetable and bell rings slipped out of sink with each other until lunch break or the end of the school day, when the bell ring, which summoned the whole school to the parade area to be officially dismissed by the duty teacher, was never late.

The week's observation of the focus schools was carried out at one of the hottest times of the year. I had tried to time the second stage of data collection to coincide with the rainy season. However, in 2003, the rains were late and, especially in Coast Region, exceptionally light. As a consequence, temperatures were once again soaring above 30°C in the afternoons. During the focus school observations, I often sat in the TO, or Mandhari's cooler informal outdoor alternative (see box 4.1), to write up field notes, listen in on conversations, ask my own questions or simply rest. The teachers' office (TO) is the room to which teachers retreat when not in class. It is here that they mark books, fill in registers and, more rarely, prepare lessons. As well as being an office in which to work, it is also a place to socialise. It is here that teachers drink tea in the morning break, that a tired head succumbs to a quick nap during the hot afternoons and that teachers chat amongst themselves throughout the day. They chat as they mark exercise books, commenting on mistakes or remarking on Nani's progress this term. They chat as they fill in registers, sharing their outrage at a news story concerning teachers in a distant district, who are still waiting to be paid for the census work. They discuss the merits of a newly qualified teacher, who has recently started at the school or their children's university applications. An elderly teacher expresses his perplexity concerning how to teach a Vocational Skills topic and is offered advice from younger colleagues, which fails to reassure him.

Box 4.1: Description of an afternoon scene at Mandhari Primary School

The activity of the morning contrasts with the apathy of the afternoon, as the sun rises to its highest point. Already, the pupils have emptied from the town school five kilometres up the road. Here, the teachers abandoned their stuffy office with its cheap corrugated iron roof that transmits the sun's heat. Two desks and a straw mat have been placed in the shade of some trees, close enough to the classrooms to observe comings and goings but far enough away to catch a breeze. About five or six teachers have retreated to this makeshift alternative office and I also have joined them in their refuge from the sun. Two are sat at the desks marking their way through towers of dog-eared exercise books. One of the duty teachers is methodically filling in registers, calculating the daily percentage attendance for each year. A couple are simply chatting. One has her three-year old child with her, the father of whom is also a teacher at the school.

S1 and S2 were taught in one over-crowded shift and sent home at 1130. S7 have already completed their examinations and graduated so that only S3 to S6 are now in school. The headteacher, who is perfectly relaxed amongst her staff under the tree, has noticed that S5 are unattended and unoccupied. The teacher timetabled to be with them explains that she taught her periods in the morning so that I could observe them.

S4 are lined up in the centre of the school compound in front of Mwl. Daudi, a young, hardworking and ambitious member of staff. Invariably, he turns up to school impeccably dressed in neatly pressed clothes and polished shoes. When I ask what he is doing with S4 the question is batted around before someone explains that the class has failed the same English test twice. Mwl. Daudi is standing against a notice-board in the centre of the school compound, on which he has pinned up the test results. Two girls are called to the front, they walk towards Mwl. Daudi and bend over with their hands on their head to receive two open handed slaps on the back. Then a handful of pupils are sent back to the classroom. The remainder are still standing in line, one behind the other. They are instructed to half squat, half sit in what looks like a rather uncomfortable position. They hold it for about thirty seconds before they are allowed to rest on their haunches. A few minutes later they are in the half sitting position again. The whole procedure must be interspersed with a good deal of lecturing as it is about twenty minutes before they are dismissed back to their classroom. S6 are then summoned. They must have done better in their test as they are outside for a much shorter time and go through the squatting routine only once before being sent back to class.

Although, like the English staffroom, the TO is both a room to work and socialise, it is less of a refuge. It is a room of continuous coming and going and, if only for the sake of ventilation, the door is never closed. Pupils enter with messages from a teacher on another part of the compound and are sent away with piles of marked exercise books to be returned to their class. Parents came to complain about the theft of their child's property by another pupil, to register a child for next year's S1 or to inform on a relative keeping a child out of school. Vendors of articles ranging from textbooks to bed sheets time their visits to coincide with the more idle moments of the afternoon.

Official visitors from the district or a NGO appear in the TO doorway when the HTO is unoccupied.

4.4 Conclusion on context

The first section in this chapter compared the official structure and curricula of primary education in Tanzania and England, highlighting areas of conflict that will re-emerge as themes in later chapters. The next two sections were concerned with Tanzania alone and described teachers' working context in schools. Section 4.2 related the present day geography of one school compound to the history of education policy in Tanzania, the history of the particular school, characteristics of the community and that community's aspiration for the school's future. It illustrated how both national policy and EFA have impacted on the evolution of one school. It also showed how social phenomena, such as the growth in urban centres, can effect a school and the pivotal role that individual actors, particularly the headteacher, school chairman and village chairman, can play in the fortunes of a school. Although influenced by national and international forces, the school is still viewed by the local community as a local institution. The community's claim to ownership of Isega School is by no means universal, being far more common in town than village schools, and in itself represents a cornerstone of the school's recent success.

The narratives of the school day described the implemented hidden curriculum. Whilst schools ostensibly conform to government regulations they nevertheless exercise flexibility in their implementation in response to practical obstacles. Box 4.1, describing an afternoon scene at Mandhari, illustrated that it is not always clear where the boundary to practical obstacles and teacher apathy, which may be construed as a reasonable response to pay and living conditions, lies. The hidden

curriculum includes powerful messages relating to cleanliness, appearance, patriotism, authority and examination performance. The description of the morning routine at Isega provided some clue as to the cultural effectiveness of primary education in Tanzania in contributing towards a sense of national identity and the promotion of Swahili as a *lingua franca* spoken throughout Tanzania (Barrett, 2001). The descriptive accounts also depicted something of the backwash effect of selection to secondary school on the culture of primary education. It is not a coincidence that unexamined elements of the curriculum, such as ESR, are relegated to the end of the day where they are unlikely to happen often and certainly not to schedule. The Mandhari afternoon scene illustrated one way in which the pressure on schools to produce good examination results is transmitted pupils.

Having described aspects of the cultural, historical and policy contexts in which Tanzanian teachers work, I now move on to consider how teacher identity is constructed in England and Tanzania. The next chapter looks at England and shows how the potential for conflict between the government's bureaucratic exercise of control and teachers' professional identity has played out in recent education history. Chapters six to nine report and discuss findings on Tanzanian primary school teachers' construction of their identity, their educational values and how these relate to classroom practice.

Chapter 5: English Primary Teacher Identity in Context of Tradition and Reform

> Concepts, like individuals, have their histories and are just as incapable of withstanding the ravages of time as are individuals. But in and through all this they retain a kind of homesickness for the scenes of their childhood. (Kierkegaard, 1965:47, cited in Brown, 1977:77)

5.0 Introduction

In the four chapters following this one, I present findings from fieldwork in Tanzania, which are discussed and compared with research on teachers carried out in England and Wales and, to a lesser extent, other Anglophonic Western countries as well as in Sub Saharan Africa. This chapter paves the way by taking a closer look at teacher identity in England and Wales as it is described in literature. In order to understand how teacher identity is constructed, it is first necessary to understand the historical context, including both the educational traditions that have shaped over a century of state provision of mass basic education and the effects of recent wide-ranging reform. The 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA) was the culmination of successive governments' growing concern to re-assert control over educationalists' practice following a period of exceptional professional autonomy during the 1960s (Hoyle & John, 1995). The reforms had a near traumatic impact on the teaching profession during the nineties, reflected in the large numbers who accepted offers of early retirement and the increased incidence of stress-related absences. This context has reverberated through the literature, so that all research on teachers during the last two decades has, to some degree, had to address the effect of reform, even if this was not the primary intention of the research (as was the case for Acker, 1999). Hence, it is necessary to start by outlining the educational values that predominated before reform and were attached to reform in England and Wales.

The first section of this chapter expands on the reasons for a comparison with England within a study that is primarily concerned with teachers in Tanzania. The following section briefly outlines two dominant ideologies that have between them shaped understandings of the purpose and nature of state-sponsored mass education since the nineteenth century. It goes on to discuss the implications of these two ideologies for primary teacher identity, showing that although in tension they worked together in shaping teachers' work. I then turn to the recent reforms in the third section showing how they have disturbed understandings of teacher identity by escalating tensions and intensifying accountability. In the fourth section, I suggest channels past and present through which Western ideologies of education have been communicated to Tanzania. The conclusion briefly outlines how literature referred to in this chapter has contributed towards analysis of findings from fieldwork in Tanzania in the following chapters.

5.1 Reasons for a theoretical focus on England

Over the last two decades, a wealth of literature on teachers has been compiled looking at various aspects of teachers' work and lives, which is both rich in theoretical concepts and grounded in empirical research. I have drawn upon it extensively in the conception and design of my own research project. However, it has mostly originated from and is written for the Western context so that this study, like much research conducted in developing countries, is informed by Western discourses on education. This is further exacerbated by the circumstance of my studying at an English university, where the most accessible literature derives from Anglophone Western countries. Yet, in this regard my position is far from exceptional. A quick glance through the prospectus for the University of Dar es Salaam reveals that just

about every single member of the academic staff of the Faculty of Education received their research degrees from universities located in industrialised Western nations. It is no wonder that the intersection between Western and African educational debate often looks like a hegemony of Western values and concerns (Watson, 1994). Teacher professionalism and the related topic of teacher development is one area where just such domination appears to have occurred. Hence, Burke (1996) recommends the professionalisation of developing countries' teachers along the same lines as has been achieved in the West and Alphonce (1999) borrows from Western discourse to theorise on the 'professionalism' of Tanzanian teachers. Yet, Johnson *et al.* (2000), when comparing teachers in both developed metropolitan and rural African settings within the one country of South Africa, conclude that the notion of 'teacher professionalism' is of little relevance to teachers working in the severely under-resourced village schools serving rural African communities.

I certainly do not intend to say that Africa cannot benefit from the literature on teachers. Neither would I dare to attempt a research project such as this one without reference to the store of accumulated experience and critical thought embodied in the literature. It is a founding principle of comparative and international education that to learn from another education system it is necessary to appreciate the wider historical, political, social and cultural context (Blake, 1982; Crossley, 2000). So, in this chapter, I give an overview of the historical and contemporary context, concentrating on but not limiting the discussion to England and Wales. For historical reasons, there is a correspondence between the education system of Tanzania and that of its former colonising power, although the relationship between the two is by no means clear and direct. Nonetheless, many studies through

reference to literature of Western origin do make implicit comparisons and in so doing suggest that Western practice is the norm. By pausing to consider the context, which has produced much of the literature on teachers available to an English-speaking research student, I aim to make comparison explicit.

5.2 Rationalist and humanist teachers

5.2.1 Two ideologies of state education

Popkewitz & Simola talk about "the birth of pastoral bureaucracy" in the modern state as linking together two fields:

> The bureaucratic-based government of the nation state and the religious-based cultivation of moral personality. The compulsory school system was the very eminent locus of this combination of an expert governmental system and the intimacy of pastoral guidance." (Popkewitz & Simola, 1996:11)

The primary level of state-sponsored mass education was founded towards the end of the nineteenth century in England upon the marriage between two distinct ideologies of education as a national and personal project. Bureaucratic-based government tended to adopt a technical-rationalist view, conceiving of state education as an industry that contributes to economic success. The metaphors of teacher as technician and teacher as self-managing professional both derive from this educational ideology, which itself derives from the root metaphor for society of a machine. Education as "pastoral guidance" or a form of nurturing is a precept of the Christian humanist tradition, now more commonly referred to simply as 'humanist' (e.g. P.J. Woods & Jeffrey, 2002), which continues to inspire many teachers. The primary level of education lay closer to the Froebelist kindergarten movement than higher levels and so was most influenced by this intimate personalised view of education. Personalisation should not be confused with individualism, as explained

by Bernstein (1975:121-123). Individualism is used throughout this thesis to refer to a concern for the material advantage of the economic individual and personalisation to a concern for the emotional and material well-being of the creative person.

At the time of the industrial revolution, when machines in their novelty seemed little short of miraculous, educational innovators, such as Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster, searched for an equally miraculous cost-efficient system for educating the poor (Curtis & Boultwood, 1966:12). Hence, schools came to be regarded as productive units or factories within an educational industry (e.g. Bobbitt, 1913 cited in Darling-Hammond, 1990). As a nationalised industry, it was just one component of the massive state machinery that as a whole sought to improve the economic prosperity and social welfare of the nation. The industry metaphor describes state education as a national project administered by government bureaucracy, ideally for the benefit of society as a whole. This perspective has persisted through the establishment of a welfare state and up to the present time. For example, in the 1950s, the launching of Sputnik prior to the successful launching of an American rocket prompted school science curricular innovations in both Britain and the US. In 2001, race riots in the North of England have been partially blamed on segregation in schools and given rise to recommendations for citizenship education in schools (Cantle, 2001). The danger of extending this view too far is that education becomes a scapegoat for economic and social ills beyond its control (e.g. Apple, 1996:28), as when Conservative politicians in the 1980s used under-performance of British industry to argue for educational reform. Another feature of the rationalist approach is a preoccupation with economics. This goes beyond the expectation that education should support and contribute towards the national economy to the use of economics

as a structural metaphor, so, for example, schools are audited for 'effectiveness' and education is valued by 'rates of return' calculations.

Taylor (1984:6) uses the industrial metaphor as an example of an analogic metaphor that has become an iconic or "dead metaphor". Instead of thinking of mass education as being in some ways *like* an industry it is considered to *be* an industry, as when higher education is required to generate profits through marketing its courses on the international market; schools are managed along the same lines as private enterprises in the service industry; and the performance of educational institutions is measured in terms of their output according to blanket standards set at a national level. Teachers are either regarded as self-managing professionals (Caldwell, 1997), who share responsibility for the success of their schools in a competitive market, or as technicians, hired to deliver a national curriculum using the pedagogic strategies deemed by 'experts' to be most effective (Robertson, 1996; Smyth *et al.*, 2000).

Studies in Western Anglophone countries have found that teachers themselves identify with the humanist tradition, which views education as a personal project (e.g. Nias, 1989; P.J. Woods & Jeffrey, 2002). This tradition, which in relation to mass education can be traced back to the influential European educationalists, Pestalozzi and Froebel, emphasises the development of the whole child, facilitated through interpersonal relationships with teachers. Froebel likened the child to a plant, which needs cognitive, emotional and physical nourishment within a conducive well-tended environment to realise his or her full potential. If the child is a whole person, so also is the teacher, and so the teacher should engage her whole self, her personality,

interests and skills in a genuine nurturing relationship. This ideology lies closest to the educational values of teachers in England and North America. Their special interests and hobbies, their political convictions, their emotions are all engaged in caring for, educating and developing their pupils (Nias, 1989; Broadfoot & Osborn, 1993; A. Hargreaves, 1994).

Clearly, each of these ideologies has its limitations. A machine obeys quantifiable causal rules of operation so that it can be manipulated to predictable effect. By comparison, the complexities of society endlessly challenge our techniques of calculation or descriptive theories. Nonetheless, the mechanical metaphor is so embedded in Western culture that much popular and political discourse does assume simple cause and effect relations. As for the person-centred ideology of teachers, a single adult cannot hope to create the ideal environment and develop a nurturing parent-like relationship with twenty or thirty very different young individuals, all growing and developing at their own rate (Taylor, 1984:19). Yet, many teachers are committed to the whole child ideology and espouse an ethic of care, which drives them in pursuit of unreasonable self-demands, to the point of suffering over-tiredness and feelings of guilt when they cannot live up to their own exacting expectations (Nias, 1989; A. Hargreaves, 1994).

There are obvious tensions between the two ideologies. The industrial model privileges the needs of the nation, so that education has the dual role of fitting the individual for productive employment and instilling attitudes of responsible citizenship believed to contribute to a harmonious society. The humanist model, by contrast places the individual at the heart of the educational project, so that its goal is the

realisation of each individual's moral and creative potential. The former seeks to minimise costs and maximise economic outcomes, whilst the latter inspires a massive input of personal resources and values the emotional rewards of working with children (as observed by e.g. Lortie, 1975:101). The industrial model assigns education a selecting and filtering function, implicit in which is the creation of social inequality although at point of entry all children may start with equal opportunity. By contrast, the democratic principle that every person has the right to the kind of education that will develop his or her potential and talents is a non-negotiable precept of the nurturing model. Despite these differences, Western-style state education is the product of an alliance between these two ideologies as Popkewitz & Simola (1996), quoted above, observe. The effect of the recent reforms has been to intensify the tension between the two ideologies, threatening the equilibrium that has maintained schools since at least the 1950s and challenging teachers' longstanding commitment to humanist values.

Before discussing the changes, it is worth elaborating on the role of teachers within the industrial and nurturing frameworks. In the following section, I focus on the inter-related themes of teachers' knowledge and patterns of collegiality and autonomy. Although, for the sake of clarity, I have presented the two ideologies as distinct, they should not be thought of as independent. They have grown up together over a period of nearly two centuries, so that each is in part a reaction to the other, and, as is discussed towards the end of the next section, they intersect in complex ways within schools to shape and define teachers' work.

5.2.2 Knowledge as expertise and experience

Both the critics and advocates of the recent reforms, paint an image of the 'Fordist'

factory school, within which the work of teachers is comparable to that of unskilled technicians. Scheffler outlines this schema, in which the teacher was:

> a minor technician within an industrial process, the overall goals of which are to be set in advance in terms of national needs, the curricular materials pre-packaged by disciplinary experts, the methods developed by educational engineers - and the teachers' job ... just to supervise the last operational stage, the methodical insertion of ordered facts into the students' mind. (Scheffler, 1968:5-6).

Ironically, the view of teachers as professionals grew out of this model, as they were perceived to acquire the specialised pedagogical knowledge previously invested in 'educational engineers' through their pre-service training. Bullough (2001) in the United States and Simola *et al.* (1997) writing about Western Europe both claim teacher educators were the pro-active agents behind the professionalising of teaching. From around the 1950s onwards, teacher training colleges were either competing with or being assimilated into universities, making teacher educators keen to assert their own academic status. The academic status of teacher educators and the professional status of teachers were, however, bound together by a common basis in esoteric knowledge. Hence, as teacher educators carved out for themselves a pseudo-scientific discipline, variously named 'science of education' (Scheffler, 1968), 'didactics' (Simola *et al.*, 1997) or 'pedagogical content knowledge' (Bullough 2001), they insisted on teachers' professional status. Whether teachers were regarded as technicians or professionals, however, their knowledge was conceived as being codified and compiled by non-practicing experts.

In the early eighties, Schön (1983/1991) argued that professionals, even within the prototype professions of medicine and law, applied not just technical rational knowledge but what he termed "reflection-in-action" to decision-making. At about the

same time, researchers were calling attention to the personalised nature of teaching. Personalisation meant the conscious investment of personal resources and sense of self-identity in teaching; the development of expertise through reflection on previous classroom experience; and the unconscious influence of personal biography on teaching style and patterns of collegial interaction. The personalisation of teaching may be attributed to the humanist ideology, which in its English and American form emphasises the inter-personal relationship between the individual teacher and individual child rather than the needs of the class as a *group* of children. Hence, teachers' personality, the engagement of their authentic selves, is vital to their work. Woods & Jeffrey borrow the words of one of their research subjects to explain what humanism means to teachers:

> This set of values centres around holism, person-centredness, and warm and caring relationships. The teacher is a whole and real person who could 'really be myself' and who could 'really feel at home' while teaching, rather than being someone who is 'really removed' (*Erica*). (P.J. Woods & Jeffrey, 2002:92)

Humanist views of education gave rise to a sense of vocationalism that inspired teachers to draw heavily upon their personal physical, emotional and creative resources. In the words of another of Woods & Jeffrey's informants:

> You put so much into it, you can't switch off from it; you can't take a step back. In order to be good, you've got to be wholehearted and the children have got to see that you really care and you are committed. (P.J. Woods & Jeffrey, 2002:93).

Early sociological studies of teachers observed that teaching style depends very much on a teacher's personality (Waller, 1932/1965; Jackson, 1968/1990), or as Lortie put it, "one's dispositions are not only relevant but, in fact, at the core of becoming a teacher" (1975). In a more voyeuristic age, teachers' practice is seen as flowing from their educational values, which are shaped by their personal biography, including images and views of education formed during their own childhood

experiences of schooling (e.g. Knowles, 1992; Goddard & Foster, 2001). Connelly & Clandinin (1995) combine this aspect of individualism with the artisan nature of teachers' work, describing teachers' knowledge as storied in nature, an individual's knowledge (see also Butt *et al.*, 1992), so that "the classroom [is] a safe place for the living of secret practical stories" (1995:13). Elbaz (1993) argues that the personal knowledge of experienced teachers makes their work more and not less rational, as teachers' beliefs and values enable them to take a consistent and coherent approach to their work in the face of numerous demands on their attention in the busy classroom setting.

5.2.3 Collegiality and autonomy

One of the major tensions that has pre-occupied teacher literature in England and North America is that between collegiality and autonomy. Connelly & Clandinin (M.F. Connelly & Clandinin, 1995) applaud individualism as a necessary and important aspect of teachers' work. However, Lortie (1975) was more ambivalent, associating teachers' isolation from their colleagues with insecurity, a lack of confidence that made them inimical to peer observation, a finding supported by Nias (1989). Jackson (1968/1990), however, interpreted teachers' aversion to observation as a dislike of inspection and found that outside the classroom teachers appreciated and depended on the support of their colleagues. Acker (1999) was impressed by the genuine care and support, which characterised staff relations in an English primary school she studied over a period of several years. Andy Hargreaves (1994) identified four patterns of collegial interaction in English secondary schools; these were individualism, balkanisation (when collegiality is largely intra-departmental), collaborative cultures (genuine spontaneous collegiality) and coerced collegiality (when collegiality is administratively induced). Hargreaves' suggestion that the type

of collegial interactions between staff are a feature of school culture and vary from school to school, is complimented by Osborn's (1996a) case study of two teachers, illustrating that a teacher's personality also plays a part in determining collegial relations. It appears, therefore, that humanist teachers creatively draw on their individual attributes of personality, beliefs and experience *as well as* the support of colleagues.

Osborn, Broadfoot & McNess (2000) suggest that teachers' common commitment to humanist educational values can be the basis for genuine collaborative cultures. They observe that in schools with collaborative cultures, teachers were collectively able to mediate policy, 'domesticating' the NC to their own educational values. Hence, collaborative cultures helped to preserve teachers' professional autonomy. On the other hand, Hargreaves & Dawe (1990) warn that contrived collegiality may have the opposite effect of eroding autonomy and may be used to circumvent individualist teachers resistance to imposed change. Thus administratively imposed collegiality may turn teachers into the malleable and uncritical workforce that the technician metaphor implies. Collegiality, therefore, is not a unique feature of either the humanist or technical-rational tradition but each tradition conceives of collegiality in different terms. The technical rational approach views collegiality in terms of what teachers do, for example sharing the task of devising schemes of work. This is exemplified by policies in England and other European countries, which oblige teachers to spend time together for the purpose of facilitating the implementation of a new national curriculum (e.g. as described by Gunnar, 1991). The humanist view conceives of collegiality in terms of relations between teachers, so that the care and support due to the child is also shared between members of staff. In this form it may

become a vehicle for teachers to manipulate policy according to their beliefs and not just be manipulated by it.

Likewise, the two traditions see professional autonomy as being founded on very different bases. The technical rational view sees professional autonomy as the privilege of the "expert teacher", described by Elbaz (1993) as a manager, "whose knowledge consists of skills and techniques for efficient control of situations"; and a problem-solver, implying "that thinking is linear and that every problem has a single best solution" (*Ibid.*:123). Elbaz sees the expert teacher, who seeks to improve education by means of rational techniques, not as problematic in herself but only insofar as she is used as an exemplar, to which other teachers are expected to conform. A normative model, Elbaz warns, may become a bureaucratic means to control teachers and neglects the influence of contextual factors on teachers' practice. On the other hand, whether working in a collegial or individualistic environment, a child-centred philosophy of education requires that teachers be able to decide on the educational strategy that best suits a particular class or pupil. If teachers are denied professional autonomy and not trusted with pedagogic and educational decision-making, this will be to the detriment of those children who do not conform to a normative model of learning.

5.2.4 Two traditions in practice

Most teachers combine aspects of the rationalist and humanist models in their practice. The technical rational knowledge accumulated by experts and the experienced knowledge of the individual are not necessarily in opposition. Connelly & Clandinin's (1995) interest in teachers' stories derives from their concern with how theoretical and personal knowledge interact within the "professional knowledge

landscape". Elbaz (1993:129-130) argues that teachers are both rational 'experts', working collegially towards justifiable goals, and reflective contextually situated experienced individuals. They do not reject educational theory out right but critically select those ideas that make sense in the light of their own experience, values and context. Teachers are not, as the technician metaphor implies the passive subjects of bureaucracy, a uniform mass to be molded by technocrats. Neither are they isolated independent individuals, autonomy is balanced by contractual obligations. Jackson captures the balance between bureaucratic rationalism and individualist humanism as manifested in practice, in an excerpt, which serves to summarise this section:

> ... teachers feel most comfortable with the classroom door closed and the curriculum guidelines tucked away in the supplies closet. But their concern over the preservation of professional autonomy must not be misinterpreted as reflecting a desire for isolation and total independence ... They do not want to be alone with their roomful of pupils; they merely want to be free from inspection while performing certain of their duties ... They want company and they want help, but they also want to preserve the feeling of being on their own in the classroom.
>
> A similar complexity is found in their attitude toward a prescribed curriculum ... All seemed quite willing to accept the guidelines set down by curriculum committees and textbook manufacturers. But inside these guidelines they wanted room for spontaneity and the exercise of professional judgment. (Jackson, 1968/1990:132-133).

In the next section, I consider how recent reforms have effected the balance in English teachers' work between technocratic rationalism and humanism.

5.3 The impact of reform

Educational change of the last two decades has been presented, by both advocates (e.g. Caldwell, 1997; McLaughlin, 1997) and critics (e.g. Menter *et al.*, 1997; Smyth *et al.*, 2000) as a modernisation (or post-modernisation) of schools, mirroring the shift in industry from Fordist to post-Fordist modes of production. The updating of the industrial metaphor has also involved its reassertion, bringing about a shift in the

balance between humanism and bureaucratic-rationalism underpinning state-sponsored education. The reforms have differentiated the two ideologies so the two strands hitherto intertwined in teachers' work, now stand in sharp contra-distinction. The tension that always existed between them has been heightened, turning teachers' everyday work into an arena for conflict. Teachers have experienced this as an increase in workload ('work intensification'), an undermining of their educational ideals and diminishing trust in their competence. Their response has, in its organic way, been slow to emerge compared to the rapid succession of policy changes, so that it is only now becoming evident and causing concern amongst researchers. In this section, I very briefly outline the content of the reforms, examine their effect on teachers' work and review findings concerning teachers' response concentrating on primary school teachers in England and Wales.

5.3.1 Content of the reforms

In the most general terms, reforms in England and Wales have consisted of two components. First, certain administrative responsibilities, including some degree of budgetary control, have been devolved from the local education authority to the school level. Second, centralised control of teaching and learning has been tightened, through the introduction of a national curriculum and increased monitoring and assessment of schools' performance. Both have involved significant changes to teachers' work, represented by proponents as opportunities to professionalise and by the severest critics as deskilling or proletarianisation (e.g. Ozga, 1995). Responsibility for budgetary spending, development planning, student selection and staff evaluation has been devolved to schools, multiplying the number of middle management positions available to teachers. Increased managerial responsibility has been accompanied by increased accountability, most notably in the form of

regular inspections amongst other procedures, to ensure that all schools are meeting centrally determined standards. Targets built into the NC and the introduction of more frequent external assessment of students has dovetailed with accountability requirements on schools, allowing the performance of schools to be measured and compared in terms of students' progress against NC targets. Schools are required to publish their students' national test results in league tables and make inspection reports available to the public, as part of a strategy of simulating market competition. Central funds are disbursed directly to schools and pay increments to teachers as incentives for 'high performance'. Although the specifics of these changes are unique to England and Wales, they are part of a global trend towards marketisation and performativity in educational policy. Hence, education is re-structured in emulation of commercial markets and systems of accountability introduced to regulate and control the service delivered to customers, with a net effect, in Western nations, of greater centralised control over what is taught and how (Apple, 2001).

5.3.2 Accountability vs. autonomy

Whether these changes are regarded as professionalising or proletarianising teaching depends very much on understandings of professionalism in relation to teachers' work and knowledge. The debate essentially hinges on whether accountability or autonomy is taken as the defining dimension of professionalism. The proponents (e.g. Caldwell, 1997; McLaughlin, 1997) of the recent reforms and related programmes of 'school improvement' take the view that the changes have transformed at least some teachers from being technicians locked within a rigid bureaucratic hierarchy, which encouraged stagnation of skills, into accountable professionals motivated to work to high standards and able to develop their skills and careers within the fluid organisational structures of self-managing schools (a view

critiqued by Darling-Hammond, 1990). Caldwell draws an analogy with medicine to elucidate his conceptualisation of the "self-managing professional" within self-managing schools:

> Leading a team of professional and para-professionals using state-of-the-art learning technologies and knowledge about learning will call for a level of professional skill that can be compared with that of a skilled surgeon. The skilled professional in medicine is constrained by protocols and must work to standards that are as demanding as will ever be faced by teachers. (Caldwell, 1997:73).

Professionalism is thus associated with managerial responsibilities, an upwardly mobile career, constant skill development (or 'life-long learning') and high performance as measured by a centrally determined standards framework.

Critics counter that innovations such as the legislative imposition of a centrally determined national curriculum, the publication of league tables, more frequent and obtrusive inspections, staff appraisal conducted by school management and performance-related pay all amount to a curtailment of professional autonomy. Classroom teaching, they argue, is the point of delivery of education and the heart of the educational process. Yet, it is precisely with respect to pedagogical decision-making that teachers have experienced a constriction of their professional autonomy (Apple & Teitelbaum, 1986; Elliott, 1994; Englund, 1996). The net effect of measures intended to increase accountability has been to normalise classroom practice, in effect deskilling teachers by coercing them to conform to centrally determined models of 'good practice', which encapsulate the educational values of government. Hence, teachers are also denied the freedom to reflect critically on their practice in the light of their own educational values. The severest critics of reform denounce the rhetoric of 'managerial professionalism' as little more than a camouflage with which to conceal the reality of teacher disempowerment and de-professionalisation (Ball,

1999; Smyth *et al.*, 2000; Apple, 2001).

Table 5.1 Some contrasting aspects of competence and performance models in relation to schools and teachers (reproduced from Osborn *et al.*, 2000:236)

	A COMPETENCE MODEL	A PERFORMANCE MODEL
Management style	'Invisible management', with relative professional autonomy	'Visible management', with relative professional regulation
Organizational form	Professional, with flat management structure. Control through self-regulation, socialization and internalization of norms	Mechanistic, with hierarchical structure and bureaucracy. Standardization for control and coordination
Management style	Collegiate, with emphasis on proficiency, dialogue and consensus. Informality in relationships	Managerial, with emphasis on efficiency and target-setting for results. Greater formality in relationships
Teacher roles	Teachers as facilitators, with affective dimensions sees as intrinsic to the teaching role	Teachers as instructors and evaluators, with emphasis on cognitive and managerial skills
Teacher professionalism	Professional covenant based on trust, and commitment to education as a form of personal development. Confidence, sense of fulfillment and spontaneity in teaching	Professionalism as the fulfillment of a contract to deliver education, which is seen as a commodity for individuals and a national necessity for economic growth. Less confidence, fulfillment and spontaneity in teaching
Teacher Accountability	Personal and 'moral' accountability	External and contractual accountability, backed by inspection
Whole-school coordination	Relative autonomy and informal teacher collaboration	Formal school planning, with 'managed' collegiality
Economic costs	Expensive, because of sophisticated teacher education and time-consuming school practices	Cheaper, because of more explicit teacher training and systematized school practices

When teachers, who are salaried employees of the state, are also regarded as professionals, there exists a tension between their claim to professional autonomy and their contractual accountability towards their employers (Englund, 1996). Robinson (1994) reminds us that this conflict is not new but was formerly played out at a distance from the school, between professional organisations and the national and regional administrative agencies representing state interests. She concludes that the effect of administrative devolution has been to relocate the conflict inside

self-managing schools, where it is felt more acutely both by teachers and management (see also D. Hargreaves & Hopkins, 1990).

The findings of Osborn *et al.*'s (2000) study on the perspectives of English primary school teachers during the period of introduction of the NC suggest that not only has the conflict intensified but the balance has shifted towards greater accountability and less autonomy. Referring to Bernstein's (1996) educational codes, they characterise the cumulative effect of reform as shifting schools from a 'competence' to a 'performance' pedagogic mode. In a table reproduced above (table 5.1) they summarise the implications for teachers. Within the competence model teaching is a covenant-based profession, underpinned by trust, personal commitment and a shared set of professional ethics. This corresponds to Eraut's formulation of "moral" and "professional accountability" (1993:24). Motivation is intrinsic, so that teachers describe the rewards of their profession in terms of interpersonal relations with and the progress of students. Teachers enjoy a sense of spontaneity in their practice and invest a great deal of their self-identity in their work (Nias, 1989). By contrast, within a performance model teaching is a contract-based profession, characterised by Eraut's third type of accountability, "contractual accountability" (1993:24) and backed by formal evaluation procedures and inspection. Teachers have a contractual obligation to deliver education, regarded as a marketable commodity and rewards are extrinsic, in the form of pay increments awarded for high performance against externally set standards.

Popkewitz draws our attention to the increasingly ubiquitous prefix 'self' (Popkewitz & Simola, 1996; Popkewitz & Brennan, 1997). Whether it is 'self-governing schools',

'self-managing professionals' or the 'self-reflective practitioner', *self* is an increasingly common prefix in educational discourse. Drawing on Foucault's work, Popkewitz argues that since the turn of the twentieth century, pastoral bureaucracy has been characterised by the devolution of governance, the responsibility for the maintenance of institutionalised standards, to the individual level. However, new concepts of professional expertise that "bring the spotlight of scrutiny to bear on individual people" (Popkewitz & Simola, 1996:20) allow bureaucratic rationalism to penetrate deeper into traditional territory of the humanist ideology – that of the personal. The ensuing battle over the ethics and discipline of the teacher has been described as 'a struggle for the soul' (Popkewitz, 1998; Ball, 1999). So, in the same way that the marketisation of education represents not a completely new ideology but the modernisation of the technical rational view of education-as-industry, the new managerialism may be viewed not as a new form of governance but as an intensification of pastoral bureaucracy.

5.3.3 Teachers' response

The humanist ideology encouraged teachers to identify with their work, so that teaching was regarded as a life-long vocation. This meant teachers experienced the introduction of a performance-based approach to education not just as an assault on their 'professionalism' but on their *selves* in two ways. First, the pressure to adopt a performance-based pedagogy, with a greater emphasis on cognitive development and more time given to whole-class teaching, conflicted with their closely held ideal of whole-child and child-centred educational philosophies. When it was first introduced, many teachers in England and Wales felt the NC constrained their capacity to support their pupils' affective and social development (Osborn *et al.*, 2000), as one teacher reflected:

> For me the National Curriculum has narrowed my outlook as much as I have tried for it not to. ... It takes a lot of enjoyment from me. For me, teaching has always been a creative outlet. Now I'm constrained, I've lost a lot of creativity. (Osborn, 1996b).

The second way performativity threatened teachers was through a culture of accountability, which felt like constant measurement and judgment of their selves and their personality. This worked in tandem with market values, which encouraged parents, or 'customers', to be more critical of teachers' work, creating a climate in which teachers felt they were being undermined by a generalised lack of trust in their competence (Troman, 2000). Teachers' identification with their work made them peculiarly vulnerable and exposed when criticised (Kelchtermans, 1996), as one teacher explained:

> We can't separate self from what we actually do within the classroom. The Ofsted team cannot come in and say, 'We're looking at your teaching practice' without saying, 'We're looking at you as a person'. ... They strip all these layers and you feel as if you haven't got any real substance ... (P.J. Woods & Jeffrey, 2002:97)

Teachers reacted to the two-pronged assault in a variety of ways. In the first instance, feeling obliged to teach in a way which was not *them*, teachers fragmented their identities, separating out 'school-self' and 'real-' or 'home-self'. This helped them to achieve a more healthy balance in one respect as they were more likely to draw a line at the end of the working day and less susceptible to unreasonable self-demands. On the other hand, their sense of vocation diminished as they became disengaged from their work. (Osborn, 1996a; P.J. Woods & Jeffrey, 2002). Distancing themselves made it possible to implement teaching strategies with which they were ethically ill at ease. They were also putting their 'real-selves' beyond the reach of professional scrutiny, "they aren't going to get to *me*", as one teacher in Woods & Jeffrey's (2002:101) declared. Even if 'they' did, as teaching was now

regarded as just a job, teachers had a 'bottom line' - they could leave the profession with their self-identity intact. Reduced commitment was further aggravated by work intensification, caused by a rapid succession of policy changes and the paperwork that accompanied the NC, cutting into time available for what most consider to be the most rewarding aspect of their work - interaction with children (Forrester, 2000).

After variously traumatic experiences of criticism, teachers developed dramaturgical strategies, learning to "act up" to standards for scrutinising inspectors and appraising managers and to project a professional image before discerning customer-parents and client-pupils. Meanwhile, their 'real selves' were distanced from the school, reserved for the family at home (P.J. Woods & Jeffrey, 2002:105). One teacher explained how she deployed dramaturgical strategies during her second Ofsted inspection:

> I was hiding behind the face of the Year 6 teacher. I smiled when I had to smile but they weren't going to get to me like the last time. ... I am exhausted, like we all are, but they didn't affect who I was this time. (P.J. Woods & Jeffrey, 2002:102)

Disengagement was not the only response. Osborn *et al.* (2000) found that many teachers were able to mediate policy in a creative way, so that they domesticated the NC without compromising their own educational values. Whilst their lessons were not as spontaneous as before, they found that they were able to work around the NC framework, to create lessons that were fun and attend to pupils' affective as well as cognitive development. This was often achieved at the school level, as teachers, united by their common humanist values, collaborated to work out their response to change. As one teacher said:

> We've worked very hard at taking the National Curriculum and looking at our beliefs and philosophy and what we believe is good early-years practice and marrying the two. (Osborn *et al.*, 2000:77)

The dramaturgists represent what Ball calls the 'reform teacher', who he describes as a transparent spectacle, "essentially inessential". The creative mediators correspond to his 'authentic teacher', "who absorbs but is not fundamentally re-made by reform" (Ball, 1999). The core difference between the two is the engagement of emotions. Ball and other researchers (Osborn *et al.*, 2000:240; P.J. Woods & Jeffrey, 2002) are concerned that whilst in the short term teachers may resist market values encoded within policy, as new teachers enter the profession and negotiate their sense of identity, the new value-system will gradually become accepted. Disengagement, instrumentalism and the loss of a sense of vocation amongst teachers (Osborn, 1996a; P.J. Woods & Jeffrey, 2002) may all be construed as signs of adaptation to a climate of self-interest, as teachers' reprioritise, placing their own well-being above an ethic of service. Ball uses the words of a secondary school teacher to demonstrate how the logic of the market can infect teachers' view of education:

> I think that TQM [Total Quality Management] has a value in that, in making us think in terms of customers ... which is how I regard my parents, and ... to a certain degree the students now. I don't think it changes the fundamental relationship but I think one is very definitely aware that numbers need to be kept up, that we need to have high targets not only for the students but to make sure that the school goes on functioning as well as it does, and I think that the introduction of selection made this very clear. (Ball, 1998)

Although primary school teachers are perhaps less likely to see their young pupils as 'customers', they are nonetheless under similar pressures. As one teacher observed of the new accountability measures, its "pushing buttons in their unconscious, so it's getting to very deep places" (words of Naomi reported in P.J. Woods & Jeffrey, 2002:96).

The welfare state has traditionally depended on teachers' investment of their

emotional and personal resources. The cumulative effect of reforms that privilege the technical rational aspect of teachers' expertise without acknowledging the personal nature of their experience may well be the impoverishment of state education. The irony of performativity is that it elicits from teachers a performance. With equal irony, the rhetoric of 'self-managing professionalism' results in the withdrawal of 'self'. As Ball (1999) warns, "We may end up getting a lot more and a lot less than was expected when the current cycle of reform of education was begun".

5.3.4 Situating reforms in England and Wales

The discussion of the reforms needs to be located both with respect to other education systems and with respect to contemporaneous changes in other sectors of British society. The Anglophone Western countries share their Christian humanist heritage with Western Europe. However, its modern Anglo-American form differs significantly from that of central Europe in two important respects. First, teachers place a greater emphasis on the social and affective development of children, whereas their European colleagues tend to limit their role as teachers more to the cognitive development, believing that the family has the responsibility for socialising children (Broadfoot & Osborn, 1993; Alexander, 2000). However, Broadfoot *et al.* (1993) found signs that this was changing in urban areas of France where teachers found that they were increasingly having to compensate for what they saw as a deficit of social discipline in the home. Secondly, the humanism of the central Europe is far less personalised. Thus, teachers are more concerned with the *socialisation* of children rather than the social development of the child. In other words, children are expected to learn how to be part of a group. Spindler & Spindler (1993:122) found in their comparative study of a primary school in Germany and the United States that German teachers were surprised by the degree to which their

American colleagues accommodated personalisation in their classes. Their responses were echoed by Japanese and Chinese pre-primary teachers in Tobin *et al.*'s (1989) comparative study with the United States. In Denmark, the cognitive and affective domains are more completely integrated and classteachers know their pupils and their families personally, due to keeping the same class for nine years (McNess *et al.*, 2003:66). However, this is used to contribute towards building classroom solidarity, with consensus and collaboration being emphasised over individualisation and differentiation (Osborn *et al.*, 2003:144). It may be that the characteristic personalisation of Anglo-Saxon versions of both humanist ideologies, together with the emotional nature of primary school teachers' work, has compounded the stress teachers have experienced as a result of the recent reforms.

The changes that have taken place within education in England and Wales are one part of purposeful reform of the public service and unplanned societal change. Hence, the dilemmas facing teachers are similar to those facing other public sector professions (Whittington *et al.*, 1994; Bottery, 1998) and are to an extent, not problems created by education but problems shared with all sectors of society. Accountability and transparency within a low trust society were themes discussed by O'Neill in the 2002 Reith lectures (O'Neill, 2002). Anthony Giddens (1991) used the term 'fragmented identities' in reference to changes within modern Western societies. Rose (1996), starting from a similar model for modern governance to that assumed by Popkewitz, looks beyond the party politics that precipitated public sector reform in England and Wales, to theorise what he sees as a more durable transition from welfare state governance to "advance liberalism". He explains that:

> "Advanced liberal" strategies can be observed in national contexts from Finland to Australia, advocated by political regimes from left to right, and in relation to problem domains from crime control to health. They seek techniques of

> government that create a distance between the decisions of formal political institutions and other social actors, conceive of these actors in new ways as subjects of responsibility, autonomy and choice, and seek to act upon them through shaping and utilizing their freedom. (Nikolas Rose, 1996:53-4)

Rose goes on to describe three characteristics of advanced liberalism. First is the penetration of enclosures of expertise through budget disciplines, accountancy and audit. In the case of schools this is achieved through quasi-marketisation that by conceiving of schools as autonomous enterprises with responsibility for their own budgets makes them auditable subjects of scrutiny. Second is the pluralisation of social technologies, so that the "relations between the responsible individual and their self-governing community" substitutes for that between social citizen and society. Hence, the values of service and dedication that characterised teaching and other "people working professions" (Bennett & Hokenstad, 1973) in the welfare state are supplanted by competition, quality and customer demand. Finally, echoing Caldwell's notion of the self-managing professional, subjects of rule are specified as individuals seeking to "enterprise themselves", so that individuals fulfill their national obligations through "seeking to fulfill themselves within a variety of micro-moral domains or communities". Hence, the locus of engagement between rationalist bureaucratic government and person-centred humanism, as it is plotted within state primary schools, is currently being realigned as part of a macro-shift in the relations between professions and governments of Western nations. This shift is modelled by Rose as a shift to advanced liberal strategies and by Popkewitz as an intensification of pastoral bureaucracy that involves redistributing governance to the level of communities and individuals (Popkewitz & Simola, 1996). Although the traditional spaces for expression of humanist values in the codes of professional organisations and the intimacy of interpersonal interactions are looking more fragile, pluralisation

and autonomisation has created space for local and collective reflexive practice of broadly humanist values.

5.4 Transmission of pastoral bureaucracy and advanced liberalism

The two ideologies that have dominated state education in England and Wales were also exported to Britain's former colonies. The humanist ideology is closely linked to Protestant Christianity and the missionaries, who instigated the bush schools in Tanzania around the turn of the twentieth century, shared their religious and humanist convictions with charitable organisations concerned with educating children of the poor in Britain. The British Protectorate government was concerned to establish a low-cost education system calculated to increase productivity and governability of rural areas whilst training a highly skilled elite to meet the manpower needs of the administration (Buchert, 1994). From the beginning, however, these models have come up against, interacted with and been mediated by indigenous ideals and aspirations concerning the preparation of children for adulthood and governance. Some researchers have attempted to untangle the threads of indigenous and colonial, traditional and modern influences within current educational beliefs and practice in Sub Saharan Africa. Tabulawa (1997) describes how authoritarian performance models of education were reinforced by traditional authoritarian values of respect and submission to elders in Botswana. Stambach (2000) has traced the influence of pedagogic techniques associated with traditional initiation practices in the Kilimanjaro region of Tanzania on secondary school pedagogy. Teacher identity across countries tends to collect a sediment of intergenerational ideas (Weber & Mitchell, 1995:6). So, it might be expected that in Tanzania echoes of the humanist and technical-rational ideologies may still be glimpsed, now woven into a contemporary Tanzanian shape. More fundamentally,

public primary school teachers everywhere in the world have contractual obligations to the state as their employer and relationships with pupils and their parents, although these need not be experienced as conflicting. Hence, the inquiry in later chapters has been shaped by an expectation of finding a parallel dichotomy in Tanzanian teacher identity.

"Pastoral bureaucracy" has also been inherited by development agencies as part of what Tikly (2004:178) identifies as a global system of governance. Multilateral agencies exhibit an economics-based concern for national productivity allied with a concern to change the behaviour and attitudes of individuals. The two poles are represented by two leading agencies concerned with education development, The World Bank and UNESCO. At the national level The World Bank premises its policies on financial calculations and audits, as epitomised by rate of return analysis (e.g. Psacharopoulos & Woodhall, 1985; Psacharopoulos, 1994) that led directly to the nascence of EFA. At the local level its community school programmes, which seek to distribute responsibility and accountability to the local level, are premised on a model of local self-governance. UNESCO inherited at its formation the liberal Christian concern for personal salvation through literacy (as evidenced in one of its earliest publications, UNESCO, 1947) and its present-day recognition of the moral dimension of education as a personal as well as social project is evidenced in the Delors Report (Delors & *et al.*, 1996). Less particular to UNESCO is the human rights agenda, an individualising discourse aimed at changing social values and relations that has been layered onto educational development. Hence, the policy-making influence of development agencies is a channel for the transmission of educational ideals associated with pastoral bureaucracy and, increasingly, advanced

liberalism (Tikly, 2004). The link between policy and class-roots realities, although a real one, is however attenuated, as argued by O'Sullivan (2002) and illustrated by the account of Isega School's history, in the last chapter (section 4.2.1, pp. 115-23).

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have characterised state-sponsored education in England as resting on two educational ideologies, one that views education as a national project and the subject of technical rationalist calculations and the other that views it as a personal project involving the development of the whole child. Within the rationalist model teachers are viewed as technicians following the directions of experts or self-governing professionals, who are accountable for performing to centrally-determined standards. Within the personalised view of education, teachers are expected to invest their whole selves in interpersonal relations with each child in their class and have a sense of moral responsibility to provide each child with a conducive and nurturing learning environment. I have argued that in practice, teachers need to strike a balance between these two views. Recent changes have amounted to the penetration of the rationalist view to the organisational and individual level. In some schools, teachers have had some success at collectively mediating between the rationalist and humanist ideologies. Where individuals have been left to adjust to this intensification the conflict without support from colleagues, it appears to be experienced more acutely and some teachers have reacted by distancing their personal identity from the performance of their work. I argued that state primary school teachers everywhere in the world are positioned between bureaucratic government and relations with children. Whether and to what extent this dual accountability is experienced as conflictual or how a balance is achieved varies between countries.

Any metaphor, any framework and most especially any ideology is a simplification that highlights and overshadows in order to interpret and communicate (G. Grant, 1992:434). This chapter is only intended as an incomplete discussion of the reforms and their effect on teacher professionalism in the West. What has become clear in using the two ideologies framework is that teachers are located within education systems which are themselves intimately integrated into national social and political contexts, so that teachers' understanding of their work, governments' expectations of teachers and the interplay between the two can only be understood in relation to the broader historical, cultural, social and political context. Hence, we have arrived back at the message of Isaac Kandel, reinforced by many contemporary comparativists (e.g. Crossley & Jarvis, 2000) and simply stated by Nigel Grant:

> Educational systems need to be examined as wholes, and in their contexts, before cross-cultural studies can be expected to yield much benefit. (N. Grant, 2000:313)

Ideas from some of the literature discussed in this chapter have shaped the analysis of findings from Tanzania presented in the next three chapters. The patterns that emerge from the findings, however, differ from those in the literature on English teachers in ways that offer insight into Tanzanian teacher identity and suggest new ways to look at English teacher identity. The theme of the next chapter was directly influenced by attention that writers such as Clandinin & Connelly (1995) and Goodson (1992b) have drawn to the personal nature of teaching and the role of biography and experience in shaping teacher identity. It focuses on the interaction between personal identity and professional identity with reference to the life stories of three teachers. Chapter seven borrows Nias' (1989:27) notion of "a corporate self-identity" to explore the collectively constructed identity of teachers as it is drawn up

with respect to different groups. Concepts of accountability and responsibility developed by Broadfoot & Osborn (1987; 1988; 1993) and Osborn, Broadfoot & McNess (2000) are an organising theme for discussion of findings and comparison with England. In chapter eight, Bernstein's (1975; 1996) performance and competence modes is applied to teachers' pedagogic practice and also provides a basis for comparison between Tanzania and England. Although not discussed here, Huberman's (1993) and Sikes' (1985) work on teachers' careers lay down 'foreshadowed knowledge' of intergenerational variation in teacher identity that led to the teacher identity typology in chapter nine.

Chapter 6: The Personal and Professional - Three Teachers' Narratives

6.0 Introduction

Chapter four described the systemic context of Tanzanian primary school teachers through a general overview of the organisation of primary education in Tanzania and a thick description of the geography, history and daily life of the focus schools. This chapter completes the description of context and moves into the core theme of this study, that of teachers' occupational identities. It focuses on the intersection of professional and personal identities by describing how teachers perceive their work of teaching to articulate with their other self-identities. This is achieved through sketching a word portrait of three focus teachers that includes narratives of their life history, their present lifestyles, their aspirations for the future and relations with significant others. The description of the in and out of school lives of Mwl. Makonde, Mwl. Kibaja and Mwl. JB (not their real names) serves as a background for analysis and discussion of findings from one-to-one interviews with thirty-four teachers and focus group discussions, presented in the next chapter and chapter nine.

Research from Western Anglophonic countries has shown that teachers' carry their personal attributes such as social class and political beliefs (e.g. Connell, 1985), life history (Goodson, 1992b) and previous experience of schooling (Clandinin & Connelly, 1995) with them into school and these inevitably influence their practice and career decisions. The examples of narrative and life history research, involving intensive interviewing or collaborative writing with a small number, often only one or two, teachers have proliferated in Anglophonic literature over the last two decades

(e.g. Nespor & Barylske, 1991; P. Woods, 1993). Many of these are associated with feminist perspectives (e.g. Middleton, 1989; Munro, 1998) and those of marginalised groups (e.g. Casey, 1993; Shaw, 1996). Despite development agencies' desire to know "what makes teachers tick" (Fry, 2002) in low-income countries, very little narrative or life history research on this particular marginalised group has been published. Stephens (1998) has incorporated life history interviews with teachers and pupils into a study of cultural issues relating to girls and basic education. Osler (1997) has investigated the biographies and careers of Kenyan educators. However, neither of these examples involved in-depth exploration over an extended period of time, partly because of the constraints of time frames, common to international development research. In very much the same vein, I have also made use of a narrative method within a non-narrative methodology. Nonetheless, in writing the following narratives I have drawn on the work of narrative researchers, primarily Clandinin and Connelly (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Clandinin & Connelly, 1998), Casey (1995-1996) and Woods (1996).

6.1 Construction of the narratives

This chapter is concerned with the interaction between personal self-identities and professional identity. Personal self-identity is modelled as consisting of three time dimensions – past career biography, present lifestyle and work experience and aspirations for the future. A complex matrix of contextual factors act in different combinations on each of these three dimensions. Past career opportunities are created and constrained by changing educational policy. Present lifestyle and experience of work are strongly dependent on the locality and culture of the school where the subject is currently posted. Future aspirations and opportunities to realise these are effected by economic context as well as family responsibilities. As Maclure

argues on the basis of her research amongst English teachers:

> However, the impact of context upon teachers was by no means one-way. While the context certainly made a difference to the teachers' lives and work, each teacher also partially constructed that context according to her or his *biographical project*: that is, the network of personal concerns, values and aspirations against which events are judged and decisions made. (Maclure, 1993:314)

A narrative has been constructed of each of the three 'focus' teachers in order to portray the complexities of these interactions in a holistic way. Although the three 'focus' teachers were carefully chosen for their differing ages, educational qualifications, family responsibilities, household incomes and types of posting, they are not representative of all informants, let alone the population of all Tanzanian primary school teachers. However, their stories do vividly convey how personal and contextual factors orient teachers' subjective construction of their professional identity.

There was variation in the quality of my relationship with each focus teacher and in their narrative style, which had implications for how their narratives were constructed first in the interviews and then re-constructed as I edited them. I use the word 'editing' to refer to translation and organisation of the narrative as distinct from my commentary. The detail and emotive fluency of Makonde's narrative may give the impression that we knew each other much better than in fact we did. Hadijah Makonde was a natural storyteller, who used stories of her past to present her identity in the present. She focussed on detailed descriptions of critical events, which she explicitly linked to her view of herself as a teacher and school leader. My editorial contribution was to translate her stories, cutting out repetitions as I did so and re-arrange them in chronological order so as to make them easier to read. Translation is, of course, a deceptively subjective process. I have tried to arrive at a translation that both preserves the meaning and conveys the eloquence of the

original. The other two focus teachers' life-stories had to be constructed out of various excerpts from interviews, causing the structure of their narratives to be fragmented. The style of Ruth Kibaja's narrative is particularly stilted because she preferred interviews not to be recorded and so her words have been reconstituted from my handwritten notes. Analysis and commentary of Makonde's and Kibaja's narratives are given at the end of the narratives, preserving the structure crafted within the interviews.

The fragmented structure of JB's narrative arises from the nature of our interviews. As far as was possible, I invited people with whom I felt I had already established some degree of rapport and trust to be focus teachers. The two women informants taught at the focus schools, where I had carried out observation, and hence, we had had more opportunity to get to know each other prior to my asking them to be focus teachers. I also wished to include a young man posted to a remote school as a focus teacher in order to balance the overall impression given of Tanzanian teachers' lifestyles and personal identities. The reasons why it was harder to establish rapport with JB were the same reasons for inviting him to be a focus teacher. JB worked and lived at a remote school, to which my only available means of transport was a lift on the back of a DEO's moped. The school was close enough to be able to make several visits without imposing too much on the DEO's time. However, travel arrangements meant I could never accurately predict the exact time and date of my next visit and this was detrimental to building a relationship with JB. Staff of small remote schools are often socially as well as professionally dependent on their colleagues and hence, tend to present themselves to visitors as a close community. Protocol obliged me to present the request for his participation as a focus teacher to

the staff as a whole. Protocol also allowed JB, as the youngest member of staff, little space to negotiate individually in the face of his headteacher's and other colleagues' enthusiasm. The earlier round of interviews had shown that young men posted to rural schools tended to be amongst the most demoralised of teachers and feel the most estranged from the wider education system. JB was no exception and this did not make it any easier to trust an outsider. There was however a positive reason for my being particularly interested in JB. Out of all the young teachers I had previously interviewed, he appeared to be the most reconciled to living in a village environment. Like many young men at the beginning of their career, he did not perceive the world as storied nor was he reflective by nature. In contrast to Makonde, who made use of her past experiences to construct a present identity, JB preferred to draw on the physical resources in his environment by preparing visual aids for lessons, showing off his house and garden and preparing a meal out of one his chickens. In this manner, he carefully constructed a self-presentation that was as much visual as oral. I constructed his narrative by pasting together a series of relatively restricted responses to my questions and describing what he showed me. Hence, more interpretive work was needed to sketch his portrait and discussion is interspersed with presentation of his narrative.

The narratives are preceded by a description of the focus teachers' current teaching position and lifestyle. In a summary section, I outline the common themes revealed by the portraits of the three teachers, relating these to research on English teachers. It is important to acknowledge my interpretive presence as translator and author, accepting that the focus teachers' voices, although authentically present, are clipped and modulated by the research processes and text that conveys them.

6.2 Mwl. Hadijah Makonde

6.2.1 Hadijah Makonde's narrative

At the time of the research, Hadijah Makonde was deputy headteacher and S1 class teacher at Mandhari School, where she had taught for nearly twenty years. She was well respected by colleagues and DEOs (District Education Officers). She held a grade B qualification and a DEO informed me that it was only because of the statuary requirement of grade A she had not been offered headship of a school. She lived in her own house, ten minutes walk from the school, close to a main road and small market. Her house was still under construction and had been for several years as she and her husband purchased materials and paid tradesmen sporadically depending on whether they had spare cash. They had three children, two in primary school and one attending a private school some distance away, for which they paid school fees. They were also bringing up a grandson from her husband's previous marriage, who attended pre-school. Two years ago her husband's business had been destroyed when thieves broke in. This had been a serious blow to the family and increased their dependence on Hadijah's salary. Her husband contributed to the family income through cultivating his farmland (*shamba*). Makonde's narrative follows.

> The story of how I reached this point is a long one. I have become wise because of my difficulties. I have had many problems in life and may be God planned it that way because I now thank [God] for giving me a long life as a healthy adult. When I was young my health was not good, I had so many problems that I did not believe I would live to be the age I am now. I have had an amazing life. When I was with my parents I was happy, in the way that is normal for people with their children. Later, our situation became bad after the parent, on whom we all depended very much, departed. My father was ill for a short time and when he died it was a severe blow for my mother. Fortunately, my uncle took me to Dar es Salaam to complete primary school, otherwise my story might have ended there. I was selected to enter Jangwani

[a government girls' school in Dar es Salaam] in 1976 but my mother could not afford the fees. My uncle did not see any reason to continue sponsoring a girl's education. So I had to return to the village to help my mother farm. I lived the life of an old person. A year later, my father's best friend sent me to study accountancy but after I completed the first year the fees for the second year were too expensive for him. Shortly afterwards, I heard that my mother was ill and returned to the village to take care of her.

In 1979, I returned to Dar es Salaam. The sister of my father's friend had just given birth. She asked me to help care for her child for a short while and said she would also try to help me. I started working for her and we got on well with each other. She was a teacher and I helped her with marking. I asked to talk to pupils at her school and was invited to help with teaching. That aunt helped me very much, she placed me close to her. When it was announced that UPE teacher training courses, open to primary school leavers, were to be started, she helped me write a letter requesting admission. Two thousand of us sat the entrance examination for one hundred places. My name was ninety-sixth on the list. Later the examination was declared invalid for various reasons. Aunt was extremely sorry but later two letters arrived, one from Korogwe Teachers' College and one from Kigurunyembe Teachers' College, both offering me a place. Korogwe wanted students who had completed 'O' level and Kigurunyembe wanted those who had completed primary school. I decided to go to Kigurunyembe, although Aunt was anxious because it was an army college and would be physically demanding. I told her I was not afraid of the army, I have already struggled.

So I showed the letters to Baba [her father's friend] and asked if he would pay the fees. I tried to talk to him but he was fierce and handed me back the letter saying, "Stop being stupid! Take your letters away!" I was so upset. If I hadn't been accompanied by two children I would have lost my way home, I was crying so much. The children saw but they didn't know why I was upset. When I arrived home, Aunt asked me where the letters were. I told her that I had thrown them away. She asked why. The children explained to her, "Sister was crying ...". Aunt told me, "Don't be worried, you will go [to college]. Whether Baba pays or I pay, you will go." I saw that she was encouraging me and she still had a heart to look after me. From that day, she started to give me the things a girl needs, such as clothes. One day, Baba came to Aunt's house. Aunt told him, "This girl is leaving on the fifteenth. On the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth bring the things she needs – mattress, stove, mosquito net, blanket, suitcase, sheets, towel." Baba brought everything. He even brought two towels and sheets, I left one with Aunt. Aunt helped me with soap and oil. I am still close with that Aunt. She now works in a district education office. When I have time I visit her and her children visit me. We are like family.

When I arrived at Kigurunyembe, I was given a medical check-up for the first time in my life. Before, I had not known that there was such a thing as a

medical check-up and diagnosis. In the village, the hospital only existed in stories. When I was at home I was afraid to go to hospital because I was worried that should I be found to have serious problems, who would pay for my treatment? I thought that even if I should die it wouldn't matter very much as I didn't have a child at that time. In the health check, it was discovered that I had stomach ulcers, tonsillitis and low blood pressure. Four of us were called by the college principal. Another had problems like mine, one had had marjor surgery recently and another had one leg shorter than the other. These last two were transferred to a civilian Teachers' College. As for us, we were told that we had problems but if we exercised we would be able to build up our strength and the college would help us with minor treatment. One officer told us that if we persevered, by the time we finished our course we would be completely fit and asked us if we were ready. I replied that I am ready but my fellow refused and decided to return home out of fear of army exercises. A Korean doctor treated me for three months. Now I am thankful for my health and take care of it.

[Details of illnesses and medical treatment whilst at Kigurunyembe].

It is as if Kigurunyembe caused me to be born anew and built up my strength. Therefore I can live anywhere and with anyone. I can read a person in a short time. Even in my teaching, because I can tell straight away if a student is having difficulties. Even my fellow teachers, I can tell this one is having difficulties so I shouldn't bother him/her. Therefore experience in this work depends very much on your background. Some grow up in a good environment and have never known difficulties. They cannot tell if their fellow is having a difficult time, they just suppose that s/he is sulking when s/he has a serious problem.

When I came to Mandhari, I met a difficult and frightening situation but I remembered that I had already lived a hard life. I believed that I should try my best to help these youth. The school was alarming. When I arrived we were only three teachers for the whole school. If those old students were to come now they would be surprised at the results we have achieved. After I arrived, teachers came and left. They would say, "I can't live in these conditions". I saw that the road helped. I could go anywhere if there was a problem, for example, if I needed to go to hospital. Many of the schools were in a similar condition and also needed help. Things were hard for teachers in Coast Region, in this society and in this district. I saw that I was getting pay-rises, even if they came late.

6.2.2 Discussion of Makonde's narrative

In relating her life history, Makonde chooses to focus on a period of a few years prior

to her arrival at Mandhari, almost twenty years ago. This whole period may be described as a critical phase (Measor, 1985), during which not only her future career hung in the balance but also, so it seemed, her life, plagued as she was by ill health. The detailed story of the conflict with her sponsor, jeopardising her entry to Teachers' College, illustrates the precariousness of her position as a young female orphan. At the end of our last interview, I asked if she would like her actual name to be used in published material to which she replied:

> Please use my name. I don't see that because I am a woman it is a reason I should be refused an education. May be there are others whose parents cause them not to study. But a woman is also a human being. Many orphans are given a hard time but later they have a family, they have a house. So it is good that my name is there.

In the end, I did not use her real name as this would have made it easier to identify Mandhari School.

Hadijah's story is one of becoming empowered, growing from a girl dependent on grudging sponsorship from substitute relatives into a self-supporting woman. Her physical recovery to full health for the first time in many years, described as a re-birth, is an allegory for her social empowerment. The young woman, who emerges from Teachers' College, is not only physically but also emotionally and morally strong. Hence, she credits her past experience of hardship as developing within her the tenacity and maturity to tolerate the conditions in what was then a remote village school and to inspire her students. Her resilience is illustrated through contrasting her own career decisions to those of others, the invalid who dropped out of college and the teachers, who ran away from Mandhari.

Just as her story of becoming a teacher is a story of multiple empowerments,

Makonde does not separate out her various roles in her school and her family:

> In the leadership course, I learnt that communication is important, communication with teachers, pupils and parents. The course prepared me well. I knew I was born to be a leader because I am first-born. My younger siblings have followed me and I have helped them. Many know that they have reached where they are today because of what I have done. The way to help as a teacher, you put yourself out to help children. May be someone has problems with their parents, talk to him/her quietly. Some teachers enter the classroom, demand of the child, "Why this?" and beat him/her with a cane. But I sit and talk to children and explain, especially with S1.

She also referred to family relations in a partial explanation as to why she had not upgraded and did not anticipate doing so:

> I wanted very much to study but was unlucky. Now at my age, I see that I have been defeated because of family responsibilities, for my own children and younger siblings. My younger siblings have studied from my wages. Our family is small, my husband has only two siblings and I am the first born in my family. So we are just here, getting by.

This is a reminder that despite her pride in what she has achieved so far, Makonde experiences constraint in her current lifestyle and career options at the same time as practicing agency in her life choices. Twenty-six years after her uncle refused to sponsor her entry to secondary school, her priorities have shifted from her own development to the education of younger members of her family.

6.3 Mwl. Ruth Kibaja

6.3.1 Ruth Kibaja's narrative

Ruth Kibaja had taught at Isega School for two years. She fitted well into the school and enjoyed the friendship of her mostly female colleagues, several of whom were also neighbours. She took her teaching responsibilities seriously. In the Teachers' Office, she appeared to be the most assiduous in preparing lessons and often returned to the school at four o' clock to give 'tuition' to the examination year groups. She lived in a rented house in Isega B, about fifteen minutes walking distance from

the school. Her husband had a secure and, in Tanzanian terms, well-paid job with a Canadian NGO. They had one precocious three-year old daughter, enrolled to start at a private kindergarten in the near future. Teenage relatives also stayed with them. Her husband's income was evidenced in their furnishings, including a television and hi-fi set. Green-fingered Ruth cultivated a variety of fruit and vegetables in her garden, the surplus from which she shared amongst her colleagues.

I was born 1972 in our home area, Muheza in Tanga Region, and started pre-school in 1980. I studied primary in four different areas, finishing up in Morogoro for S4-7. This was because my father worked in local and regional government, first at district and then regional level. The government thought it was good to move its workers around. The schools resembled in terms of teaching although the teachers were different. There was one S1 teacher I liked very much. She was very close to us, we even used to touch her hair. Then in the higher years, there was a games teacher, who I liked, a young lady. She too was close to us. Later she changed to teaching Swahili.

I studied Form 1-4 [secondary up to 'O' level] 1987-90 at a private school in Morogoro, an Indian school with Indian teachers. I didn't like their accent, although there was one young lady from Zambia I could understand. In Form 1, the medium of instruction changes from Swahili to English so language was difficult. Then I was selected for Kigurunyembe Teachers' College 1991-3, after which I did national service for six months. I was then at home for six months before being given a post in a village school in Korogwe district in September 1994. I taught there until October 1996, when I married and transferred to Morogoro where my husband was working with World Vision. My husband was transferred to Shinyanga and hence I came to Isega in 1998. Now my husband is being transferred to Arusha. He will go to report in Arusha and look for a house there.

I was chosen for teacher training, it depends on how you perform in the 'O' level exams. Those with division III were chosen for Teachers' College. My relatives and friends did not like it, they advised me to look for other work. Some of them were teachers themselves and advised me that teaching was difficult. But my father liked teaching, wanted me to enter teaching. Many of his brothers were teaching, some at university, at the higher levels. So I entered teaching. I like it but there are many disadvantages – salary is small, travel allowance to visit home in the vacation is not paid. So you are stuck in a difficult environment. In the village, you live in a mud house, you become de-skilled because of the environment. It is a difficult living environment with no road, no transport, perhaps inaccessible to cars.

In Korogwe, the work was good, there were not many children, 25-30 in a class. I did not have any problems. The only problem was the school environment. The classrooms did not have enough desks, books were few. You might find there are only five books and you have to divide the class into groups. There were no teaching/visual aids. Many of the children sat on the ground. It is difficult to teach when pupils are sitting on the ground. At Morogoro, the environment was good. There were enough books, at least for some of the classes. It had good buildings. But there were many students. S5 had 150 students. It took a long time to mark exercise books. Here at Isega, the environment is good and there are enough desks because the school is sponsored. The school in Morogoro also had sponsors from Italy. Schools that have sponsors are in a good state, incomparable to those that are just dependent on the government.

Teaching is a problem. The wages are not enough for the family. If I had not married, I could not live this life that I am living now. In one week, the salary is finished, it's not enough to pay for our needs - electricity, rent, etcetera. At Christmas, I fail to go home to visit my mother. Life is hard, we have to do something else, to farm or do business. The garden helps, I don't buy bananas, I don't buy paw-paw or greens, although now the greens are finished. You have to do something to increase your income.

I aim to study computer and work in a company. To continue with teaching is to not move forward. We should not just depend on our husbands, we should study and move away from teaching. We fail to develop, to get a car, a house, to pay for children to study, because of the salary. We can only afford to rent a house. A child needs milk everyday, how can we pay for milk everyday? Bread and margarine, a teacher cannot afford bread let alone margarine. A child needs quality food with fruit on the side. In Tanzania, when someone changes jobs it is only because of the salary, because the salary is better. If the salary is good people do not transfer.

6.3.2 Discussion of Kibaja's narrative

Kibaja interweaves her own narrative voice with a collective voice. Well aware that she is more privileged than most of her colleagues, she interjects descriptions of other peoples' predicaments into her own story. In an explanation of how she manages her take-home workload, she explains why she gives more time to lesson preparation than her colleagues:

> You [*read* "I"] have to try your best to plan non-school activities so that there

> is time for school-work, because you cannot finish it all before 2.30 pm. At home there is other work, many things to do. But if you have planned it is OK. For some [others] it is hard, especially if they have a large family – many children and no housegirl. When they return from school they have to start cooking on a charcoal stove, here we do not have electric stoves.

When she slips into generalisations, such as the evaluation, "In Tanzania, when someone changes jobs it is only because of the salary", her assertions are founded on specific information she has accumulated through a network of female friends and colleagues. Her bleak description of village postings is not based on her own experience at the school in Korogwe, which was located on one of Tanzania's busiest main roads, but that of friends. Her female friends, who had been posted to remote schools, had all secured transfers within two years, at least one of them through marraige. Nonetheless, the traumatic experiences of village life were retained in the collective memory.

Kibaja's colleagues at Isega and teacher friends from Morogoro constitute what Nias (1985) calls a 'reference group' that anchors and sustains her personal identity as a teacher. There is a similarity also to what Casey, borrowing from Gramsci, calls the "the collective subjective" (Casey, 1995-1996:220-223). She is writing specifically about the construction of 'collective self' within the personal narratives of members of political liberation movements:

> In the process of articulating a common political discourse, individual isolation is overcome and identity is created in community. So a distinctive definition of the self and its relations to others is generated, one variously described in such terms as Gramsci's (1980) "collective subjective," Stanley Fish's (1980) "interpretive community," Mikhail Bakhtin's (1981) "social dialect," and the Popular Memory Group's (1982) "general cultural repertoire." (Casey, 1995-1996:222-3)

Tanzanian primary school teachers are not politically organised (they are relatively marginalised within the Tanzania Teachers' Union, see appendix 3.2). However, their common cause when it comes to employment conditions, discussed in more depth in the next chapter, imbued not only Kibaja's discourse but that of many

informants with a collective voice.

Kibaja used her own alienating experience of school as a counter-example to which she could contrast her own teaching style:

> Things are changing. Now we are encouraged to involve pupils and not just lecture, lecture, lecture, like we were lectured when we were at school.

Despite her passive entry into teaching - "I did not chose, I was chosen" - and her desire to exit, Kibaja engaged with teaching and spoke in detail about her classroom practice. Her expressed views on classroom practice and relations with pupils, like those of her colleagues at Isega, resembled the collective discourse including, for example, scripts on 'participation', 'caring for pupils' and the characteristics of town and village children. Family relations were far more significant to her personal self-identity than teaching. In formulating her aspirations for the future, she prioritised providing as a mother and financial autonomy as a wife over the intellectual and social rewards of teaching. In tying self-esteem more firmly to extrinsic rewards rather than intrinsic rewards or job-security, areas in which teaching would score more highly than secretarial work, Kibaja had support from her reference group. Collective grievances and dissatisfaction complemented Kibaja's personal priorities in justifying her aspiration to exit teaching. Given that her household is relatively well off and she is about to move to a major urban centre, Kibaja may well achieve her modest ambition of acquiring IT skills for secretarial employment.

6.4 Mwl. JB's narrative

Mwl. James Bagohe was a young man, better known within the locality of his school as JB. He was posted to a village school in Mkuranga district, five kilometres from the main road and about 15 km south of Mkuranga town and the district

headquarters. His school had many of the features of a village school. It was understaffed with five rather than seven teachers, which meant that all five had an unrealistically packed timetable. It was therefore unsurprising that the timetable was not adhered to strictly but the extent to which it slipped was alarming, all the more so because it was not unusual for a village school. I made five visits to the school in total, usually arriving at around eleven in the morning. Each time, most of the classes were unattended by a teacher and children seemed to spend the afternoon playing outside. There were, however, always at least two teachers marking books in the teachers' office. On one visit, I found the headteacher and JB on top of a dilapidated teachers' house, repairing the roof in preparation for an expected new teacher, who never showed up.

Like most young men interviewed, JB was offered a place at Teachers' College on the basis of 'O' level results that had been a disappointment to him:

> When I was studying secondary, I expected I would go to Form 5 [lower sixth form] and that was what I wanted. Because I only achieved division 3, due to scoring F in Mathematics, I failed to find a school for Form 5. I looked for something I could get a place to study quickly with my grades. I saw that if I applied for teaching I would get accepted without any problem.

> At the time I finished college, recruitment was frozen by the government so there was no employment. For seven months, I was doing clerical work, January to July 1997. After that I worked voluntarily in a primary school in Kibaha, from 1997-9. I went when I felt like it, not every day. In 1999 I got employment at this school.

JB's greatest challenge, when he started teaching full-time, had been learning to cope with the practicalities of day-to-day life in a rural area:

> When I arrived here, I found the environment to be very different from my home or the places I had stayed. Both my parents were employed so we lived in town [Bukoba]. What helped me was that I had been to a college where the environment is similar to here. I was at Nachingwea Teachers' College, Lindi.

So, I was not a complete stranger when I arrived here. My fellow teachers explained to me the problems of the locality, like the difficulty of getting food, books and water. Water comes from shallow wells. Sometimes it is white like milk and other times it is muddy. There are no rivers or water pipes here. My colleagues advised me that this is normal and I should get used to it. What I did was to buy chemicals to clean the water and leave the buckets standing, so that the mud settles to the bottom. For food, I buy a lot of rice when they start to harvest and store it or sometimes I travel to Mkuranga Town to look for food that is not available here.

JB's home region was Kagera, which is in the North West of Tanzania near the border with Uganda. Historically, it was a popular destination for early missionaries and consequently today has one of the highest primary enrolment ratios in the country. People from Kagera and Kilimanjaro, where primary education is already universal, are disproportionately represented amongst the teaching force. They also tend to have higher expectations in terms of their living conditions:

> I studied in two different primary schools, one for S1-5, then another S5-7. At the schools where I studied, the teachers' houses were good and permanent and a teacher was able to live well. They were not mud huts, which fill with dust. Before I started Teachers' College, I expected to get a house like those I was used to. I did not know there are schools that are shacks, with houses that are shacks. I thought I would go to a school like those I saw my teachers living in. But the situation I have come across is different from what I expected.

Like other newly qualified teachers, it took a while for JB to accept his new 'home' and matters were exacerbated by the bureaucratic delay in organising his salary payments:

> The first few weeks I did not live here, I lived in town. I stayed here Monday to Friday and then left for town because the environment was difficult and alarming. If it starts raining, you haven't a place to sleep. After getting used to the environment I stopped going to town and now stay here the whole time.

When I arrived, I didn't receive a salary for a period of five months after starting work, January to May 1999. During that time I depended on myself and my fellow teachers helped me. I received what I was owed at the end of last year [2002]. Together with being small, the salary is not available on

> time. After 3 years, I should have been promoted but after 4 years I have not yet been promoted. They don't pay the vacation allowance or money for medical treatment. Health insurance is deducted but we don't get anything. If anyone gets anything it is only a few, you hear that a few get it.

Despite his early difficulties, JB appeared to be making a go at village life. He lived on the school compound where he was neighboured by two older teachers with families. His house was a low wattle and daub construction (fortunately JB was not a tall man) with one room on each side of a short corridor cutting through the middle of the house. The corridor opened at the back into a small courtyard, walled in on all four sides. In the courtyard, there was a shed for wood and storing his bicycle, two more sheds for chickens and the latrine. JB seemed proud of his hens, regretting that none of them were in sight during my visit. JB had developed a small but intricate garden in front of his house, which must have required regular watering. The walls of the corridor displayed the interests of young men everywhere in the world, decorated with magazine articles on reggae and football posters. Handmade mobiles, improvised out of exercise books were hung from the ceiling.

JB complained at length over the impossible workload that he was far from fulfilling:

> I teach seven classes: Mathematics S7, Social Studies S4, Swahili S5, English S4 and S2, Vocational Skills S4 and Science S5. At the moment we are five teachers and in total there are 489 students. The timetable should follow the curriculum guidelines. For example, we are told that Mathematics S7 should be eight periods a week and Mathematics S6 eight periods, etcetera. However, this is impossible because the periods are too many and we teachers too few. The timetable only allows space for me to teach thirty-six periods a week. So, for instance, rather than eight periods of Mathematics I teach six periods and for subjects, which should be allocated four periods, we allow two. The time I get to rest is the two periods of Religion on Friday and Wednesday when the students are allowed to go home for washing at noon. The remaining days, from the morning up to the evening it is class, preparing notes and marking pupils' work. Even in my own time I find I am doing school work.

One of JB's lessons is described in chapter eight. Unsurprisingly, the timetable pressure and the school culture impacted on his classroom practice. His lessons were short and consisted of delivering an explanation punctuated by memory-recall questions to the class. The creativity in evidence around his house was channelled into procuring visual aids. For example, he described using a torch and two balls to demonstrate an eclipse and showed me a newspaper article he had saved on an eclipse in Namibia. He wanted to talk about his practice and after each observation asked me for suggestions as to how he might improve. He gave the impression of being eager to learn and develop but in need of facilitation. He had attended a one week in-service course and during the research period attended another two week residential course on Mathematics teaching. Yet, I doubted that he would be able to translate new knowledge into effective practice without guidance and support based at his school. It is probable that if JB had been posted to a school like Isega or Mandhari he would, over three years, have developed into a more confident and effective teacher.

JB regarded his relations with pupils as being founded on societal norms concerning the relationship between any responsible adult and a child:

> The relationship between a teacher and pupils is a normal one, like between a parent and his children. A teacher is [standing in] for parents, for society and for the government.

JB's view of teacher-pupil relations was a common one. What stood out, however, was the explicit connection he drew between his views and those of local society in his home area:

> **AB:** What characteristics or behaviour is a teacher required to have?
> **JB:** First, he should like himself. He should respect himself, in the way that he dresses, language, the way he talks to people. In many ways, the community looks to him, expects to learn something from him.
> **AB:** This matter of dress and language, we could say, ethics, were you taught

at college?

JB: Ethics, I can say that I learnt from the society in which I lived. It is foundational to teacher training, that society which brought me up.

Coast Region and Kagera have very different educational histories and cultures, one consequence of which is that primary enrolment ratios are very much lower in Mkuranga than Bukoba. JB complained of a lack of community and parental support for the school and children's education. However, he claimed outside of school to enjoy good relations with his neighbours and to have friends his own age in the neighbourhood.

Like many of the young men interviewed, JB was most animated when talking about his future. He had reasonably modest aspirations but did not perceive teaching to be moving him towards their fulfilment:

AB: If you think ahead, after two or five years, what would you prefer to be doing?

JB: I would like to improve myself academically. The problem is that the government, at the moment, has put in place difficult procedures. For example, here I am working from morning up to five pm. The procedures they have put in place require that I study at home. This is difficult, when I return home I am tired.

AB: If you manage to improve yourself academically, what would you like to do? Would you prefer to continue with the work of teaching?

JB: If I knew that in ten years time my life would be OK, I would have a good house, good standard of living, ... I would prefer to continue with teaching. But when I see that the way things are now is how they will be in the future, if I get a chance to do anything besides teaching, I will leave.

This was a conversation concerning hypothetical possibilities. With the exception of one village school on a main road in Shinyanga, which was exceptionally successful, none of the informants living in rural areas, without electric lighting or secondary teachers offering tuition, had been able to study at home. JB had already been unemployed for a period of eighteen months, whilst living in the most economically

advantaged city in the country and accepted that teaching was the best career opportunity he was likely to get. JB's best chance of accelerating his 'self-improvement' would be through a transfer to a more centrally located school. Being a man made it harder to obtain such a transfer without help from a friend or relative within the education administration. Neither did he have the charisma or classroom practice to attract the attention of DEOs. In short, his 'self-improvement' was likely to continue at a frustratingly slow pace.

6.5 Discussion and comparison with English and North American teachers

Comparing these Tanzanian narratives and Acker's (1999) account of English teachers lives in and out of school, reveals continuities in the nature of teachers' work. The boundary between work and home is often a porous one, with teachers taking school work home with them or going into school outside of ordinary hours. Kibaja's description of taking pupils' books home to mark and then carrying them back to school still unmarked the next day is a familiar image to teachers in Britain and America, although she did not appear to share their associated burden of guilt (A. Hargreaves, 1994). Makonde did not take work home because family demands of children prevented her concentrating on anything else. However, in common with other teachers she socialised with her colleagues at home, who were also neighbours, and the conversation often turned to work-related issues.

The personal and professional spheres of all three teachers collide at the point of salary. Kibaja and JB are dissatisfied with teaching to the extent that their income constrains them from fulfilling their personal aspirations. Makonde is committed to teaching because looking back over the last two decades she can see that it has provided her with a living and enabled her to fulfil her family responsibilities. Each

views income from a certain stage in their life and career. Their aspirations for the future are also influenced by their social and educational backgrounds. Hadijah Makonde's story is remarkable but it is not unusual. Other teachers, who had entered at grade B or C during the seventies and early eighties and who had faced the prospect of living as subsistence farming, continued to appreciate the security they benefited from teaching and the intrinsic rewards of intellectually and emotionally engaging non-manual labour. Having reached the secondary level, Kibaja and JB had had higher expectations at the beginning of their careers than Makonde. JB was doubly frustrated because he had hoped teaching would provide a second chance to study 'A' levels. Cooksey *et al.* (1991) in a survey of primary and secondary teachers found that more highly qualified teachers expressed more dissatisfaction despite higher salaries and better living conditions.

In her ethnographic inquiry into the relationship between secondary education and sexual behaviour in a part of Kilimanjaro region, Frances Vavrus (2003:8-9) graphically conveys the weight of expectation that students and parents place on further education at a time of scarce employment opportunities. In order to understand this phenomenon, she draws on Appadurai's conceptualisation of imagination as "a collective, future-oriented vision" (Vavrus, 2003:8). In other words, as secondary graduates, Kibaja's and JB's career ambitions and their consequent dissatisfaction may be considered as part of a cultural phenomenon. On the one hand, they are motivated by collectively imagined possibilities and on the other hand they share in primary school teachers' collective identity as demoralised, underpaid and neglected employees. Hence cultural context and teachers' collective identity acts to occlude the positives of teaching, such as reliable if modest income, engaging

work and friendship of colleagues. It should be remembered that however unrealistic the career ambitions of teachers like JB may be in context, they are fuelled by nothing more avaricious than the almost universal human desire to have a house and raise a family.

There are similarities between older grade B Tanzanian teachers and a group of teachers identified by Lortie (1975). Lortie reminds us that in the 1960s a significant proportion of male teachers, who tended to come from lower classes than their female counterparts, would have grown up during the economic depression of the thirties and have "sharp recollections of the pain of economic insecurity" (1975:36). He, therefore, considers it hardly surprising that there was a flow of returning World War II veterans into teaching, attracted by the security it offered. For these people, a funded college education was another unexpected bonus of teaching. "Teaching", Lortie claims, referring to men in particular, "appears to be one of the more important routes into the middle class" (1975:35). Feminist researchers have recovered the imperative for income and security that also motivated women earlier in the century (Miller, 1996; Weiler, c. 1998). For example, Munro (1998) brings us the story of Agnes who, aged eighteen, became the teacher of a single classroom school in Kansas in 1915 in order to support her family. As the eldest surviving child, Agnes, like Hadijah, inherited her recently deceased father's economic role.

Family emerges as an important theme in all three teachers' narratives, although not explicitly discussed by JB. The strength of their commitment to teaching is related to the extent it allows them to fulfil their responsibilities within their families. In JB's case, the anticipation of future roles as a husband and father underlie his desire for

'self-improvement', particularly in the form of building a house. Family relations influence self-identities in different ways. Makonde's position as first born is integral to a self-identity as a teacher and headteacher. Kibaja feels herself becoming reconciled to teaching and resists because she perceives a conflict with her roles as mother and wife. JB also uses family relations, in particular the father-child relationship, as an analogy for his relations with pupils. Rather than referring to the influence of his literal family he talks of local society in which he grew up as a family.

Referring to the Doris Sommer's (1988 cited in Casey, 1995-1996:221) work on the 'testimonios' of poor Latin American women militants, Casey reminds us that although oral narratives tell us about self-identities they are "not just personal stories". 'Significant others' enter into these narratives, are addressed by them and, in Kibaja's case, are co-originators of the narrative. Makonde claims her narrative speaks hope to other young girls or orphans denied educational opportunities. In other words, she is identifying her former self with the type of barefooted dis-empowered children and youth, who turn up in her school. Her narrative binds her to this reference group defining her as an empathetic, although by no means sentimental, teacher. Kibaja's narrative is constructed out of a conversation with a foreign visitor, who she knows is researching teachers in Tanzania. She consciously represented not only herself but all primary school teachers she knows. She was enabled to speak with a collective voice by her ongoing communication with friends and colleagues, who made up her reference group. The significant others are most muted in JB's narrative. The small interdependent group of teachers at his school are the strongest other presence. The older more experienced teachers, who ameliorated the tribulations of his first few months in post, have also influenced his

practice. In addition, JB acknowledges the influence of what he calls "the society in which I grew up" on his perspective.

6.6 Summary

The three focus teachers' narratives have illustrated how personal and professional lives are seen as being coupled primarily through income and that this may contribute towards a greater identification with teaching or a readiness to look for more lucrative alternatives. The collective occupational identity of teachers tends to be an influence towards dissatisfaction, especially amongst more highly qualified A grade teachers, who had higher career-expectations when they were secondary school students. However, colleagues at the same school are an important reference group, whose friendship and support often contributes to a more positive experience of teaching. If teachers appear to have an instrumental, even individualistic, view of their occupation this is due to a generalised context of economic scarcity, which intensifies the struggle to fulfil the responsibilities they feel towards their families. Each of the focus teachers also revealed an altruistic element of their professional identity in the form of a moral sense of responsibility towards their pupils rooted in their personal experiences of the families, societies and schools in which they grew up.

In summary, the personal narratives presented in this chapter are more than the private stories of three individual teachers. Because of their telling and the context of their telling Makonde, Kibaja and JB to varying degrees and in different ways constructed narratives that were meant for sharing. It is precisely because of this that they support the research purpose of describing Tanzanian primary school

teachers' context and portraying how the personal and professional intersect in their lives. Analysis of the narratives has started the process of theorising about how teacher identity is constructed that is continued in the next chapter, which turns to teachers' collectively constructed identity as it is drawn up in relation to other groups, such as pupils, parents and administrators.

Chapter 7: Relations and Responsibilities - Teachers' Collective Professional Identity

7.0 Introduction

Chapter six and seven together focus directly on the core theme of this study, teacher identity. This chapter turns to the shared collective identities of Tanzanian primary school teachers, or what Nias' termed "corporate self-image" (1989:27). This is approached through looking at teachers' perceptions of their relations with and responsibilities to pupils, society and the state. The relationship with pupils lies at the heart of teaching. Responsibilities and duties towards pupils are the hub about which the work of teaching revolves and hence, are the subject of the first section. Local and national societies impose culturally situated expectations on teachers. So the second section deals with teachers' perceptions of the local community and their relations with parents. The state, as teachers' employer, acting through the administrative structure of the education system defines formal duties. The third section starts by looking at teachers' relations to the state as employees, looking at the contentious issue of pay, the relationship between working conditions and the conceptualisation of teaching as a vocation and the ways in which teachers conform to state ideology. Lastly, teachers' relations of accountability with inspectors and District Education Officers (DEOs) are considered. The chapter concludes with a comparison of how responsibility and accountability are understood in England and Tanzania.

The findings presented in this chapter are based on analysis of the thirty-four one-to-one interviews and the follow-up discussion groups. Recurring themes and scripts

were used to identify the discourses circulating amongst teachers. Data were only collected on teachers' perceptions. However, in section 1.3.1 (p.12-13), borrowing from Welmond (2002:42) teacher identity was defined as including "both the subjective sense of individuals who engage in the occupation of teaching and how others view teachers". Hence, in discussing pupils, society and the state it is assumed that each of these groups are implicated in co-constructing with teachers their occupational identity, even as it is perceived by teachers themselves. Pupils, as children, perhaps have the least influence, although Riseborough (1985) has challenged this common assumption in a study of Australian teachers' careers.

7.1 Teachers and pupils

7.1.1 Teachers and pupils: findings

Informants in this study perceived a dichotomy of accountability, expressed by a division of their responsibilities into two domains, "*kitaaluma*" and "*malezi*". *Kitaaluma*, the academic/professional domain, referred to contractual duties formally defined by the education administrative structure, such as teaching in class, tracking attendance or maintaining school buildings. *Malezi*, meaning care or guidance, referred to teachers' responsibilities as guardians of children. It extended the boundaries of teachers' work into the local community and involved them in relations with parents. There is some degree of intertwining between *kitaaluma* and *malezi*. Teachers regarded being a role model for their pupils and the local community as central to *malezi* but also reported that this 'principle' was reinforced within their training and reiterated by their 'leaders'. The values of *malezi*, which are the bases of social cohesion in Tanzanian societies, underscore the teaching contract with a moral imperative. Many informants claimed to find the moral rationale for teaching to be more compelling than their contractual obligation. Such comments were often

intended to cast aspersions on the integrity of the state's bureaucratic authority, perceived to be corroded by poor employment conditions and financial mismanagement.

Teachers' pedagogic relationship with pupils is discussed in chapter eight. In this section, I focus on relations within the domain of *malezi*. Guidance, direction and, when it is needed, correction are all part of *malezi*, the care or upbringing of children. Teachers frequently used the parent metaphor in order to describe their moral responsibility of care and guidance towards pupils, indicating the generic nature of *malezi*. Hence, the teacher-pupil relationship was described as a 'normal one', meaning it was like any relationship between a responsible adult and child:

> To be a teacher is to be a guardian. To care for children as if they are one's own family is the responsibility of a teacher, to attend to any important needs. This is the custom and tradition of Tanzania, to care about each other. (Mlandizi discussion group B)

Teachers guide or bring up their pupils in four ways. First, they respond to clear physical and emotional needs. Second, they socialize children into agreeable behaviour through the example of their own conduct and by actively correcting destructive behaviour. The third way is by developing their common knowledge and skills through assigning and supervising manual work, such as *usafi*. Lastly, the parent analogy provides a motivation to give extra attention to the examination year groups. This was typically expressed through statements such as, "It is because we care for our pupils' future as if they are our own children that we work hard to teach them so that they can succeed in the examinations". Hence, embracing the values of *malezi* did not preclude holding a restricted view of the purpose of primary education as preparation for selection to secondary. Scripts relating to *malezi* could also be

used strategically to present an image of a 'good teacher' or to criticize employment conditions and hence the integrity of the formal contract.

Malezi as attending to needs was viewed as either compensating for a deficit of care in the home or substituting for that care (see the 'bicycle girl' narrative, box 7.2, p.200), whilst the child was at school:

> A teacher knows a child and his/her characteristics. The child is in school from seven in the morning up to two thirty in the afternoon and at home from three o' clock onwards. The relationship between a teacher and a child is close but between a parent and a child may be distant. Parents may go to drink after work and when they come back the child is already asleep. The teacher may call on them to say that the child is a thief and the parents do not believe it. A child may leave home sick in the morning and the parents do not know. It is a teacher, who sends him/her to hospital. (Conversation in Isega Teachers' Office)

Care extended to pupils' emotional and family problems. A teacher at Isega described how she had, over several years, counselled a girl being overworked and kept close to starvation by her mother, encouraging her not to run away from home before completing her primary education. The teacher had also challenged the mother directly but with no response.

Malezi included 'correcting' (*kurekebisha*) anti-social behaviour, such as bullying, or behaviour that is detrimental to educational achievement, such as truancy. It was generally held that, ideally, where a child persistently shows destructive behaviour, teachers and parents should consult and co-operate in "correction". Although correction may include corporal punishment, it is far broader than punishment, including listening to the child to find out his/her 'problems', advising over a period of time and paying attention to practical and material needs, such as ensuring a truanting child has an intact school uniform (see the 'Peace Mtoro' narrative, box 7.1, p. 204).

However, the most important way teachers could socialise pupils was through the example of their own conduct. All informants in this study regarded themselves as an "'example" (*mfano*) or "mirror" (*kioo*) in which children should see their own possible future. This principle was foundational to a shared code of ethical conduct:

> Teachers should be an example in all their behaviour (*tabia*). A child must learn from the teacher. Like, when a child is at home, in the same way s/he learns from the parents. Because many times children copy the behaviour of the teacher. If the teacher has good behaviour and habits, the child learns from the teacher. But if the teacher may be uses bad language and does unsuitable things, the child will learn these from the teacher. (Teacher, Mkuranga)

The word "mirror" signified the belief that when pupils looked at a teacher they should see possibilities for their own adult life. In other words, the personality, carriage and conduct of teachers were supposed to inspire pupils to persevere with education. Hence, included amongst the qualities of a good teacher were smart appearance (*nadhifu*), not being a drunkard or frequenting local drinking places selling illegal homebrew, being well spoken (*kauli nzuri*) and being amiable (*haiba*).

It is commonly expected that children contribute towards the labour needs of the household or homestead, according to their age and abilities (Dachi & Garrett, 2003). This expectation is extended to the school, where pupils are expected to contribute towards running the school, through their manual labour or running errands. Several informants saw this as a means of developing children's skills and preparing them for adult responsibility:

> Children should keep the environment clean, be used by the teacher to bring water, repair houses. The teacher gives them tasks to assess and build character. (Long service male teacher, Shinyanga Rural)

Research with parents and pupils suggests that teachers' use of pupils in this way is contentious, especially when it interferes with academic lessons (Cooksey *et al.*, 1993; O-saki & Agu, 2002). Children's participation in *usafi* at the allocated time,

however, is generally accepted.

7.1.2 Teachers and pupils: discussion and comparison with England

That Tanzanian teachers accepted both *kitaaluma* and *malezi* as parallel strands of their responsibility represents continuity with the educational organisation in England. Osborn *et. al.* (2003; see also McNess *et al.*, 2003) in a comparative study of secondary education Denmark, France and England found that England alone of the three countries separated out responsibility for cognitive and affective domains but still expected the same teachers to perform duties within each strand. So for example, a Mathematics specialist would double up as a 'group tutor' with pastoral responsibility for one particular class. In Denmark, affective and cognitive domains were thoroughly integrated with a 'class teacher' having responsibility for academic, social and emotional needs of a class, often throughout the whole of their compulsory schooling. This was achieved by working in a team of three to six teachers, who between them were able to deliver the entire curriculum. In France, by contrast, the two strands were segregated to the extent that a different set or staff were employed for each category. Hence, French subject teachers did not regard concern for the affective development of their pupils as part of their work but rather left them to non-teaching staff responsible for pastoral care. Although these findings relate to secondary education not primary, the hybrid nature of Tanzanian primary schools, explained in chapter five, make them relevant. The organisation of academic and pastoral responsibility seems to have been inherited from the English education system.

When we probe below the surface of this organisational continuity to what teachers actually mean by 'caring for pupils' differences emerge between the English concept

of 'care' and the Tanzanian concept of *malezi*, derived from societal values concerning child-raising. These differences are more a matter of the relative importance placed on different aspects of children's affective development rather than content. Within '*malezi*' greater stress is placed on guidance and the socialisation of children whilst within 'care' the interpersonal teacher-pupil relationship is conceptualised as a vehicle for personalised nurturing care. In the Tanzanian system, the socialisation of the child into what are believed to be a set of shared societal values is given greater emphasis. However, this does not exclude an understanding that some children, like the girl being mistreated by her mother, do require special attention and support. English teachers believe pastoral care, and to a lesser extent curriculum delivery, needs to be adapted to the needs and predisposition of the individual child. Nonetheless, English teachers would not deny that they do aim to instil socially acceptable behaviour and related values of respect for others. In both countries, a care ethic leads teachers to sometimes perceive themselves as compensating for a deficit of care from the family (for England, for example, see Acker, 1999:Ch9), particularly in schools with a high proportion of pupils of low socio-economic status (Osborn *et al.*, 1997).

The emphasis on guidance within *malezi* supports Tanzanian teachers' view of themselves as a role model. Teacher-as-role-model has a long history in both African and Anglo-Western cultures. Texts on teachers in pre-World War II Anglophone Western societies (e.g. Waller, 1932/1965; Cunningham, 1995) describe the moral and dress codes to which teachers were expected to conform during and after school hours. Waller (1932/1965) relates accounts by young teachers, whose personal lives were placed under intolerable scrutiny by community members or

owners of schools. Weber & Mitchell's (1995) international study of teacher image in popular culture suggests that vestiges of these expectations persist to the present day. This aspect of teachers' work has been formalised within teacher training texts written for Tanzania (e.g. Mwaduma, 1991) and other parts of Sub Saharan Africa (Datta, 1984; Bogonko, 1992). Hence, Tanzanian teachers' view of themselves as role models and the emphasis they place on ethics may be viewed as a dual inheritance from African understandings of *malezi* and images of 'teacher' within the historical Western Christian tradition.

7.2 Teachers, local community and parents

7.2.1 Teachers in the local community: findings

Teachers' role as an example was founded in their responsibilities towards their pupils but extended to the community surrounding the school. This meant informally educating neighbours on basic knowledge (*maarifa*) in areas such as nutrition, health and hygiene and being living examples of the benefits of formal education:

> In many ways a teacher is a mirror for society, they depend on you very much that you are an expert on everything. (Teacher, village school in Shinyanga Municipality)

Town teachers, many of whom rented one or two rooms within shared houses, named their co-tenants and immediate neighbours as their audience. Village teachers lived within the gaze of an entire local community almost every member of which was closely related to one of their pupils. So whilst in both town and village environments the social identity of 'teacher' extended beyond the school compound to relations with adult neighbours, it was most encompassing and defining for village teachers living close to the school.

A few teachers remembered an earlier period during their or their parents' careers

when teachers were revered as 'special', enjoying honour and gifts from peasants excited at seeing their children read:

> About the appearance of teachers in the local community, because many of the people around here have no education and many are farmers, they do not have that love of teachers, good communication. Like this is our teacher and we have faith in her, this is very small. All the time [*dropping to a small voice*] a teacher seems to be a lonely person, this is heart breaking. [*Reverting to normal talking voice*] Because of society, it is different from society when I started work, teachers were, ah, the children would be given a present to send to the teacher, [told to] greet the teacher. Other times they would come, "Mother has sent me to help you". Different from now, there is conflict and it is not obvious why. (Teacher, Shinyanga Rural)

Although informants accepted, even welcomed their current status of 'just normal', they were disappointed when they perceived themselves to nonetheless be estranged from the local community. One reason given for this was that as civil servants, who might be transferred away at any time, they were regarded as sojourners with no long-term interest in the local area.

7.2.2 Teacher-parent relations

As the parental role was shared with children's family, it is not surprising that teachers found their work was made easier when parents shared their values regarding the upbringing and education of children:

> So if the parent values the teacher and the teacher values the parent you will find that work goes well. ... If the parent co-operates well, the child cannot be a truant. Because if s/he comes here, you teach her/him. If s/he goes there the father asks, "show me the work that you did with your teacher." He looks and he knows the truth. Without this nothing is successful. (Teacher, Kibaha District)

On the whole the relationship with parents in towns was seen as unproblematic. In the village, however, teachers found their authority as second guardians was contested. They complained of parents sanctioning truancy, not providing children time and space for homework and on infrequent but extremely frustrating occasions, protesting about punishment administered in school. Unsupportive and uneducated peasant parents were referred to as 'unenlightened' or 'unaware' (*hawana mwamko*). Attitudes to such parents ranged from sympathy for their poverty to blame for their

children's underachievement and a perception that they were actively hostile towards the school and its goals.

The term 'unenlightened' indicates how teachers' view of the local community is bound up with an understanding of education as a social and cultural project. Teachers perceived a cultural gulf between themselves and villagers, as well as poorly educated or un-educated town-dwellers. Some teachers saw the purpose of schooling as helping pupils to cross over the cultural gulf. They expected education to work a total and visible transformation:

> We say, "Learning is the change of behaviours" [spoken in English] meaning if you study you change your behaviour. ... We expect the child to change, spiritually, mentally, physically, in every way. [...] Now if you meet a child who has studied in the street, you find them sitting in a large group, you know that this one and this one and this one has studied, without asking. It shows just in their appearance. Some have not washed their clothes in many years. You have met them, you have seen them? They are very dirty. (Long service female teacher, Kibaha Districts)

The line between enculturation and empowerment can be a thin one. Where some teachers perceived school to be in conflict with the local culture or the culture of some families, others perceived school as broadening horizons and enriching local life:

> I see big changes. Even if he is a farmer, his farming is better than the one who has not studied. Even business, some of our graduates do business, their business is better. Even their life if you enter the village, you find the youth who finished S7, he has a better life. You can pass through the village and see radio aerials because someone who studied science desires to know about the world. ... If you enter the place of someone who has studied, even the environment is good. They know how to take care of their children, they know to send the children to hospital. (Village teacher, Shinyanga)

Box 7.1: Peace Mtoro

Peace Mtoro looked about twelve years old and was brought into school by a young woman, who was her step-grandmother. The headteacher was tied up with another visitor so one of the deputy headteachers, a lady around the age of forty known as Mwl. Luhenga, left her class to attend to them. She immediately recognised Peace as a former S3 pupil, realised she must be a truant and launched a tirade of retributive questions at the girl, "What are you doing at home? What can be more important than school? Don't you know that school enables you to work in life?" The lady explained that Peace stays nearby with her grandfather. Her mother has died so she is an orphan. It later transpires that there are many children in the household, the offspring of the grandfather's earlier marriages and older children. Both him and his wife travel frequently as petty traders and during one of their absences Peace had run away to her maternal grandmother in Kahama, a woman who is destitute. Other children in the household attend Isega but Peace is the only one who truants.

Mwl. Luhenga takes the party to the teachers' office and offers the young woman a chair. Two or three female teachers, already in the room, listen in as Luhenga continues reprimanding Peace. When Luhenga asks her, "Are you married?" Peace's guardian says, "Yes, she hangs around with older lads. When she is sent to fetch water she can disappear for the whole day". Luhenga stares hard at Peace and demands sharply, "Is that why your face is like that?" Peace has an unusual habit for a child, of looking directly at her elders and this slight insolence is made stranger by her pale irises. "You are like us?" Luhenga nods her head at the adult women in the room, "You will become ill". At this point, Mwl. Mtenga chips in, "She wants to follow her mother. She will die as she died". For the first time Peace looks disturbed, she cries, raises a hand to wipe her face but recovers her opaque expression after a few minutes. After Mwl. Luhenga had taken Peace and her guardian to the headteacher's office, Mtenga suggests that the lady might be using her as a house-girl, "You know, if the mother or father gets another partner you can find the children from the previous marriage are used as house-girls".

The headteacher sent Peace back to her old class that day. He caned her on the hand with a ruler and took her photograph, deceiving her that if she were to run away again her picture would appear in the papers and the government would look for her. He also talked to her on her own in order "to find out what the problem is". He deduced that "the problem is care. ... She is given food, she eats well and she has a uniform at home. But the guardians go away and leave the children on their own, they are just free".

Two days later, Peace's family was again the topic of discussion amongst Isega staff. The grandfather had himself come into school. He had explained that he had twenty-five children in his household and no house-girl. Four of his children, two girls and two boys, are in S3 and he had requested that the boys be allowed to attend only in the morning and the girls only in the afternoon. The duty teacher he had spoken to informed him that this was illegal. The headteacher joked, "We should have told him that the girls can come in the morning and the boys in the afternoon. He wants to oppress the girls by making them do the housework". It is probable he had also planned for the boys to cattle-herd in the afternoon.

The contradictions and prejudices of teachers' position with respect to parents and the local community are illustrated in the narratives of 'Peace Mtoro' and 'The bicycle girl' (see Box 7.1 and Box 7.2,). These incidents unfolded over a number days at

Isega and shed insight on many interconnecting issues besides parent-teacher relations. The story of Peace Mtoro, illustrates the type of incidents and households that give rise to the opinion amongst teachers that not all their pupils are cared for adequately at home. Although, Peace's grandfather with his twenty-five children was perhaps an extreme case, her position as an orphan is a very common one. Out of Mandhari's six hundred pupils, thirty had lost both parents and a further fifty had lost one parent. "The Bicycle Accident" illustrates how constraints on classroom space and teacher-time limit the capacity of the school to care for children. It also reveals a reciprocation of mistrust from a family and a community towards the school. It should be remembered from chapter five that the school in this story, Isega, had good relations with village leaders.

Box 7.2: The bicycle accident

The same week that I observed Isega, the community nurse and her assistant took over the *awali* (pre-school) classroom in order to administer polio vaccinations to the whole school. Mwl. Masawe, the awali teacher, was appointed to assist them. On Thursday, a girl in the *Awali* class was knocked over by a bicycle on the school compound. The teenage lad riding the bicycle had been bringing tea to his relative, the heavily pregnant nurse's assistant. He took the sobbing child to the nurses and shortly she was being comforted by the community nurse, her curious classmates clustered around them. The headteacher was also on the scene. The nurse decided to take the child, who was bleeding from a cut to the forehead, to the hospital in town.

On Friday morning, a relative of the girl involved in the accident, arrived at the door to the Teachers' Office. A young man, he appeared intimidated by the school environment and waited diffidently to be asked in. He spoke to Mwl. Mtenga in a whisper. The girl's wound had swollen, so the family sent him to find out what had happened. They wished to know whether it was just an accident or whether somebody was at fault. Mtenga told him that the community nurse took the girl to hospital but she refused to be given stitches, when they tried she was shaking with fear. So it was decided that, if stitches proved to be necessary, she should return later with her family. She explained how the accident happened and that the *awali* class was outside due to the vaccination programme. Finally, Mtenga advised him to talk to the headteacher, who had been present at the time. The headteacher, however, had left the school premises, looking for carpenters to repair some desks. Mtenga then suggested the young man talk to the classteacher but the information was quickly offered that she was collecting her wages. Mtenga then dismissed the visitor by recommending he return later when the headteacher would have returned.

Later in the day, two village leaders discussed the accident with each other informally as if it were a matter of concern for the whole village. There was a feeling that the incident should be looked into to ensure that the school was taking proper care of children.

7.2.3 Teachers, local community and parents: discussion and comparison with England

Tanzanian teachers' conceptualisation of their professional responsibility incorporates parents and the local community. This is nothing like the English 'reform' conception of accountability to parents as the school's customers. Tanzanian teachers' relationship with parents derives from a shared responsibility towards children and is reciprocal in that ideally both parties should be respectful and supportive of the other. Hence, parents have a responsibility to support their children's education from home, by providing exercise books, a uniform, time and space for homework. They also have the right to raise their concerns regarding their child's welfare or education at the school by discussing the matter with teachers. This concept of shared responsibility is certainly not alien to the English context but tends to be occluded by a discourse of professional accountability. On the other hand, whilst Tanzania teachers hold shared responsibility as an ideal model, it is not one that is always enacted (as Cooksey et al.'s survey of rural parents showed, 1993).

Within teachers' ideal model they are accountable to parents and the community but also expect support and appreciation from them. This model plays out very differently in town and village contexts and is not always achieved. In remote postings, the disparity between teachers' educational values and traditional beliefs around child-raising and youth contribute to fragility in school-community and teacher-parent relations. Research on rural parents' attitudes (Cooksey *et al.*, 1993) shows that whilst many village communities are satisfied with their school, in others there is a deep dissatisfaction and bitter complaints concerning the conduct of

teachers. On the other hand, in this study many teachers perceived parents and local communities to undervalue their contribution to society and this led to low morale. Clearly, the ambiguity that is a characteristic of school-community relations in rural Sub Saharan Africa (observed elsewhere by Serpell, 1993; Palme, 1999) can collapse into mistrust and adversity.

Ambiguous parent-teacher relations have also been observed in Western countries. The fact that teachers are concerned with many children and parents a very small number has led Western writers in the past to cast them as 'natural enemies' (e.g. Waller, 1932/1965:Ch6, p.68; McPherson, 1972:Ch5). More recently, English teachers have found some parents, who exercise their 'rights' as customers, to be invasive and disruptive of their work (Acker, 1999; Troman, 2000) suggesting that the teacher-parent relationship is still not always an easy one. In Western countries also, teachers find their work to be easier and pupils to be more successful in school when there is closer congruence between their school and out-of-school culture. Broadfoot and Osborn (Broadfoot & Osborn, 1993; Osborn *et al.*, 1997) have shown that in both England and France, teachers are increasingly obliged to become more concerned with socialising pupils in inner city schools, where home cultures are diverse and differ most greatly from school culture. Hufton *et al.* (2003) found that teachers in England, Russia and the US related pupil success in school to parental interest, partnership with parents and pupils' out of school activities. It is therefore hardly surprising that Tanzanian teachers perceive relations with parents to be more harmonious in towns than in villages, where there is the greatest divergence between school and local cultures. What would appear to be a virtually universal relationship has an added significance in African countries, where schools depend on material

support from the local community (as illustrated by the story of Isega, section 4.2.1, pp. 115-123).

7.3 Teachers as state employees

The overwhelming majority of teachers were deeply dissatisfied with their employment conditions, including the resources with which they were provided to accomplish their work, salary levels and benefits, such as housing. Their anger was directed at the government, which as their employer was seen as neglecting their "rights", and, to a lesser extent, national society, on whose behalf government acts. On the other hand, their identification as civil servants was taken-for-granted, implicit to their understanding of their responsibilities in the domain of *kitaaluma* and their expectations in terms of social status. At the same time that teachers displayed deep dissatisfaction with the government as employer, they generally accepted the state's ideological leadership within the field of education.

7.3.1 Pay conditions

For many teachers, remuneration was at the very heart of what was wrong with education. Salaries kept primary school teachers hovering around the poverty line and made their day-to-day lives practically difficult:

> The thing that can help the living conditions of teachers? [*Laughs.*] Truly, that is the question. Now that is the responsibility of the government, it should look for a system to improve the life of teachers, so that they can do their work well. The government should be advised that this question helps to discourage us. I think I have given you a picture of my situation. I have a wife and I have children, who I send to school. They all depend on me. Now if the work I am doing does not pay enough to cover my welfare, do you think I will work well? I won't do my work well; I will have worries. Government should think of how to improve the income of teachers. (Village teacher, Shinyanga Municipality)

Mkuranga teachers were most embittered by the level of their salary because their locality offered the fewest opportunities for raising second incomes. The market for tuitions was extremely limited compared to Kibaha or Shinyanga town and the

profitability of farming insignificant compared to rural Shinyanga. In Kibaha town schools, many of the older women teachers interviewed had husbands in fulltime professional employment whose income was larger than their own. This did not, however, prevent them from looking for second sources of income, usually in order to fund their children's secondary or further education. Only three informants related teachers' standard of living or the resourcing of schools to the economy of the country as a whole:

> Since I started work, up to now, there is the complaint that the salary is not enough. ... It is the song, which is used up to now, "salary is not enough, salary is not enough". But the government itself also, its economy is little, but the salary truly, we cannot say it is enough. (Village teacher, Mkuranga district)

A few informants compared their income to that of other government employees with comparable levels of education, coming to the conclusion that the government did not value them or their work:

> A big problem with teachers is that we have given up hope. No respect. ... If it returned to the situation where teachers are equal with the police or army, with soldiers, if that situation would just return. (Long service teacher, Kibaha districts)

A national health insurance scheme was introduced in 2002, whereby teachers' contribution was deducted from their salary. This caused resentment, especially in Shinyanga, where some teachers had not received notice of the scheme and most had to travel for several hours to reach the nearest government hospital. Several informants were sceptical of the scheme believing only those "who are high up" would benefit. Housing was another sore point, most especially in Shinyanga Rural where it was hardest to find rented accommodation. All but one town school visited had no housing at all and five of the nine village schools had only two or three-room mud structures. In three schools within reach of a town, teachers scorned the available accommodation preferring to rent rooms and cycle or catch the bus to work. Teachers talked more about the condition rather than the cost of accommodation,

despite the fact that early career teachers could spend up to half their salary on rent.

This was because the standard of accommodation reflected on teachers' status:

> Now I work for the government but I still live in a dirty place, it is discouraging. (Male village teacher, Shinyanga Rural)
>
> When you come from that house it shows that you are a lowly person, your status is low. If we were built houses it would help to improve the status of teachers. (Female village teacher, Shinyanga Rural)

It is well known that lack or poor quality of accommodation deters women from village postings, contributing to a gender imbalance in favour of women in town schools. A survey conducted in 1990, found that women made up over 80% of the staff at urban schools (Cooksey *et al.*, 1991). One informant was clear that staff accommodation was the cause of understaffing at his remote school:

> Look at that hut! Can a teacher come to teach here? They can't. Build teachers' houses then any teacher can come, even female teachers. For example, a person from Kilimanjaro or Kagera [the most prosperous regions outside of Dar es Salaam], they think these are just huts. Build good houses then teachers would be ready to come here. (Male village teacher, Shinyanga Rural)

The prominence given to perceived status in teachers' complaints concerning their employment conditions relates directly to their view of themselves as a "mirror":

> [A] teacher is required to be like a mirror, although this is impossible in Tanzania because a mirror is never dirty, it is washed. Now for Tanzanian teachers, resulting from a low standard of living, for a teacher to be a mirror is unattainable. But the principle is that a teacher is required to be a mirror, an example for the class, outside of the classroom and in the locality or society. (Mlandizi discussion, 30-04-2003)

One informant believed teachers' financial status had ramifications for pupils' and parents' attitudes towards education:

> And even, the motivation of parents for their children, because of the way teachers' life dropped, parents with some wherewithal started to scorn them, "Who is a teacher? Who is a teacher if s/he gets a loan from me, how can s/he be respected if s/he is below me". Some of the teachers may not send their child to school. [This is] different from before, when a teacher appeared as an educated person. S/he had some wherewithal because of his wages. Now this, it has reduced the interest of children in studying. (Village teacher, Shinyanga Rural)

The low socio-economic status of primary school teachers in various parts of Africa has been described as integral to their occupational culture and identity (Harber &

Davies, 1997; Pryor, 1998:222; Welmond, 2002). The living arrangements I observed were not much different from those described by Dubbeldam (1970) in Mwanza, a region just north of Shinyanga, towards the end of the sixties. Dubbeldam also believed that a number of teachers had a *shamba* or shop as a second source of income. However, an informant who had started teaching in 1960s and whose father had also been a teacher remembered conditions worsening around 1980 to the extent that it became necessary to look for second sources of income, to the detriment of classroom performance. What is clear is that in Tanzania, as in other Sub Saharan African countries, living and employment conditions are such as to impinge on teachers' performance of their work.

7.3.2 *Teaching as a vocation*

Complaints of delays in awarding pay-rises, due to teachers after certain numbers of years in service, were understandable. This type of mismanagement of teachers gave rise to demoralisation, especially amongst younger teachers, who were more often dependent on their salary as a single source of income. The equally common complaint of non-payment of allowances was more perplexing. Allowances were abolished in 1997, when the government declared they had been absorbed into a pay-rise. Past studies have attributed such complaints to poor communications within the education system (e.g. Dyer, 1998). Five years after the change in salary structure, it seems reasonable to assign a deeper significance to teachers' regarding allowances as "their right" (individuals and a discussion group at Isega and Shinyanga Rural). The answer may well lie in the partially reformed nature of teachers' contract with the state. In the past, newly qualified teachers were posted anywhere in the country, depending on vacancies, although they could select a preferred region. There is now more room for choice as teachers may apply directly

to a district, although they do not, except through informal negotiation, chose a school. It is because of the difficulties presented by involuntary postings, including not having any relatives nearby to call on for support when unexpected large expenses arise, that prompts teachers to expect their employer to provide for quite specific needs, such as transport to a parent's funeral.

For those posted to rural schools, the decision to enter teaching had determined every aspect of their personal as well as professional lives, most especially for those teachers who had grown up or been schooled in a town. Not only did they have to cope with the absence of electricity and lack of access to medical facilities, they had to dedicate considerable energy to adapting to unfamiliar environments. Some teachers had become fluent in the vernacular language in their locality. Some had made a success out of farming, learning how to manage soil and climate conditions to which initially they had been unaccustomed. Some described themselves as alienated from the local community, dependant on friendships with other teachers from their own or neighbouring schools. These features of their work caused village teachers, most especially in Shinyanga, to view teaching as a vocation (*wito*):

> We think that it is true, teachers love their work and children but it is a calling because teachers can live a difficult life. S/he may go to an area that is very different from where they come from. Then, this teacher may stay with a society that is very different. Maybe a Chagga stays with a Haa ... (Discussion group, Shinyanga Rural)

On the other hand, the concept of vocation was not so relevant for teachers working in town schools. Some town teachers used the term to indicate that they were motivated by a sense of calling rather than extrinsic rewards, the subtext being an indictment of employment conditions. Others rejected the term 'vocation' on the grounds that it had been used by government propaganda to upbraid teachers to

work long hours in difficult situations for incommensurate salaries. It may be argued that the absorption of allowances into the salary, reflects the diminishing relevance of the 'vocation' concept in towns. From the perspective of village teachers, however, policy is running ahead of changes to the nature of their work. As policy commits to liberalisation and decentralisation, it might be expected that teachers will be given greater freedom to chose their postings. At the same time, however, the continuing dilemma of understaffed rural schools, intensified by UPE targets, is likely to continue to necessitate some degree of bureaucratic determination.

7.3.2 Conformism to state ideology

Teachers did not explicitly describe an ideological harmony between themselves and the state. Rather, it was evidenced by the unsaid, by the aspects of teachers' work that were non-issues. Informants accepted the authority of central government to determine the curriculum in all its schools, although a small number believed that practicing teachers, as implementers, should have been given more of a say in revision of the syllabus. The nationalist objectives of schooling, as represented by the singing of the national anthem, schools flying the Tanzanian flag and much of the content of the Social Studies syllabus, were never commented on. The authority invested in the office of headteacher, inspectors, DEOs or national bodies, such as the Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE), which designs school curricula, or the Teachers Service Commission (TSC), was never disputed, only the effectiveness with which that authority was practiced.

Perhaps the item of state ideology that had the most potential to conflict with teachers' self-identities was secularism. State employed teachers are required to avoid the topic of religion in the classroom, except to affirm the official line of religious

tolerance. Many teachers, however, are deeply religious in a way which touches every aspect of their personal life. Nonetheless all teachers strove for what might be described as professional secularism in school and embraced the principle of religious tolerance. However, there were signs that this was not always easy and religious affiliations could be a cause of contention, albeit a minor one. The headteacher at Isega responded to my observation that Christians were an overwhelming majority on his staff by explaining that religion was not even an issue in schools. He preferred to discuss the gender imbalance. Mwl. Kibaja was disturbed by a colleague's use of the word, 'sin' ('*dhambi*') in a grammar lesson, even though its meaning had not been discussed. When it came to religious tolerance between staff members there were unintentional slip-ups, as when a born-again Christian broke with agreed convention for mixed-religion gatherings by using the words 'Lord Jesus' in the grace for a staff lunch, to the consternation of Muslim colleagues.

7.3.4 Relations of accountability

The other side of the employer-employee relationship is teachers' accountability to the state, an accountability that is enforced through the state's local agents. The district-level staff concerned with primary schools are inspectors and District Education Officers (DEOs). Inspectors visit schools twice a year to conduct an inspection of three to four days duration that includes buildings and administration as well as classroom teaching. Teachers described inspectors using a similar language to that with which they described their own role as educators of children, namely correcting mistakes and giving guidance. On the whole, criticism was accepted as inevitable and necessary. Guidance was viewed as contributing towards professional development or keeping them up to date on curricular changes. The

small number of negative comments was, with one exception, balanced. There are two possible explanations for teachers expressing favourable views of inspectors. One is that inspections constituted a two-way link with the education system, especially valued in remote schools:

> We feel like we are known, because they inspect all the activities, classroom, management and work outside. When they leave here they inspect the school buildings, even the teachers' houses. In the classroom, sometimes we do not have a certain type of book, but after they come, after two or three days, this is done. (Teacher, village school, Mkuranga District)

The other explanation is that fear of inspections is associated with unethical practice, such as habitual absenteeism, and hence informants were reluctant to present themselves in a poor light by being critical of inspections:

> If you know things are not all right, necessarily your heart will be beating. But if you carry out your work well, you are not anxious. .... But if for four months you have not prepared, even to enter the classroom you are anxious. (Long service male teacher, Kibaha districts)

Despite the apparent satisfaction with inspections, in Mkuranga district at least, they appeared to influence teachers' practice. It was customary for inspectors to check the exercise books of pupils to ensure conformity across schools in implementation of the national curriculum. Consequently, teachers made a point of marking all the work they set their classes, which with class-sizes between sixty to two hundred in town schools and the lower years of village schools was extremely time-consuming and frequently impinged on lesson time.

Tanzanian teachers appeared to be far more relaxed in their attitude to inspections than their English counterparts. One reason for this is the differences in the inspection systems between the two countries. The biannual cycle in Tanzania, conducted by district-based inspectors, makes inspection more common place and hence, a less high stakes event than an English OFSTED (Office for Standards in

Education) inspection, carried out every four years by a national inspectorate. In the mid to late nineties, inspections in England were observed to produce so much stress that teachers' day-to-day performance was threatened (Forrester, 2000; P.J. Woods & Jeffrey, 2002). It is possible that Tanzanian teachers' attitudes to inspections may be too relaxed and the inspectorate needs to be strengthened.

With the exception of headteachers, relations with administrative staff were not as immediate to teachers as those with inspectors. District Education Officers (DEOs) have a large office-based administrative component to their work, and consequently are vulnerable to teachers' scorn whenever there is a delay in the payment of salaries or awarding pay-rises, whether or not the fault is theirs. Unlike inspectors, there was a marked variation between districts in the way they were viewed. Teachers in the large accessible town schools in Kibaha districts and Shinyanga town all claimed to be satisfied with their DEOs, describing them as co-operative and helpful. In Mkuranga, young men complained of lack of contact whilst all others claimed to be satisfied. Teachers in rural areas of Shinyanga talked the least and in the most generalised terms about 'their leaders', no doubt due to a lack of contact indicated by visitors' books and log books. Shinyanga Rural was the largest district visited and had the least well-resourced office. In a district with over a hundred primary schools and no tarmac roads, the DEOs and inspectors shared two unreliable saloon cars.

7.3.5 Teachers as state employees: discussion and comparison with England

In both England and Tanzania, the relationship between teachers and the government as their employer has antagonistic elements and these can be traced to the tensions identified in chapter four (section 4.1.4, pp.111-114) . In England, the

root of antagonism is divergent educational ideologies and, following the 1988 ERA, a conflict between teachers' conceptualisation of their responsibility and autonomy and the state's exercise of control. In Tanzania, by contrast, teachers by and large accept and conform to government ideology concerning education. This acceptance has no doubt contributed towards the primary education's cultural success. Even teachers' understanding of their responsibilities in the domain of *malezi*, which are attributed to societal values, may be related to government's intention of promoting a national sense of identity and national ethic. Not unsurprisingly, it is the underfunding of the education system that lies at the root of their antagonism towards government. Teachers locate their dissatisfaction with the state entirely within the realm of employment conditions, constructing a corporate image of themselves as an oppressed group of employees, who work hard and are denied their rights. There is no doubt that teachers' employment conditions are difficult, although for different reasons in town and village, and that their salary is barely enough to take them above the poverty line. It is possible to view passive forms of misconduct, such as frequent absenteeism, as uncoordinated industrial action, an informal nationwide, long-running 'go-slow'.

Yet, passive protest is not expressed in these terms. Instead, teachers appropriate the very discourse that has been used by government to encourage them to tolerate hardship, that of vocation. Teachers describe themselves as motivated by their own calling because the salary is not enough to motivate. Alternatively, village teachers portray themselves as serving the government and society at tremendous self-sacrifice but then being denied the appreciation they expect, in the form of 'allowances' from government and status in the community. Teachers' persistent

nostalgia for a past era, when teachers enjoyed a more privileged status and, relative to their neighbours, more comfortable lifestyle, is a longstanding feature of African education systems that has been linked to rapid education expansion (Dubbeldam, 1970; Hurst & Rust, 1990; Fry, 2002). Lortie's description of the social status of teachers in America during and shortly after colonisation as "special but shadowed" seems apt although Lortie was referring to the 'shadow' cast by the local clergyman as a more senior figure (Lortie, 1975:10). In the case of African teachers, in both town and village, their special status as salaried government employees and educated people serving the community, is shadowed by their modest financial status. The ambiguous social status of African teachers represents the conflict between moral worthiness and material worth as measures of prestige.

7.4 Conclusion

7.4.1 Conclusion on responsibility and accountability

The first section of this chapter showed that teachers claim a commitment to the care of children (*malezi*) that is rooted in shared societal values concerning the upbringing of children and youth. As argued in chapter five, English teachers' conceptualisation of nurturing care, within which they are responsible for creating a sustaining learning environment, has historically been expressed through a horticultural analogy that is itself derived from a root metaphor of society as an organic or biological system. Tanzanian *malezi* is founded in a root metaphor for society of family. In a family, each member has a defined position in relation to every other member. The Swahili language has a greater number of names for family relations than English and so, position within the extended family structure is more exactly defined. Examples are *mama mzazi* (mother), *baba mkubwa* (uncle on the father's side, older than the father), *dada* (older sister) and *wifi* (sister-in-law, only used between women).

Younger family members are expected to defer to the wisdom of older members, show respect for age and experience by accepting their authority and running errands. In the same way, within a community, such as a school or village, members are assigned titles, which define their relations with others and it is commonplace to address people by their title rather than by name. For example, the village chairman will simply be greeted as *mwenyekiti* (chairman), a craftsperson of any type (carpenter, tailor, etc) is called *'fundi'*, teachers are greeted as '*mwalimu*', a bus conductor may respectfully address a female passenger as *shangazi* (father's sister) and so on.

When Tanzanian teachers claim a parent-like relationship with their children, they are describing the relationship between any responsible adult and child within a community. Tanzanian teachers' understanding of shared parental responsibility links them to the Afro-American women teachers studied by Kathleen Casey:

> Strains of the historical Afro-American discourse echo through out these narratives. The relationship between mother and child is not exclusive and private, but is part of the wider family which is one's 'people'; ... [A]s Nikki Giovanni's poem affirms, "always there are the children", for each adult is responsible for all the children. (Casey, 1990:316)

Casey's activist teachers and Tanzanian teachers both understand 'family' in a much more expansive sense than "a 'fictive' triangle of woman, man, and child" (1990:303). So, whilst family relations and responsibilities are of paramount importance to Tanzanians it would be a mistake to assume a parallel with narrowly defined stereotypic understandings of family to be found in England.

In Tanzania, 'teacher' is much more than a job in a school, it is a role and position in society and as such is associated both with honour and responsibility. In a cultural context where age is related to status, the relationship with pupils is the hub about

which teachers' work is defined but needs to be complemented by a sense of being valued by adults. For Tanzanian primary school teachers, honour and society are not abstract concepts. Teachers indicated how parents communicated honour by cooperating in mundane matters of providing pupils with exercise books or thanking them for helping a child to pass an examination or learn to write. At the national level, society communicates honour through ensuring teachers' standard of living is commensurate to their responsibilities, rather than an impediment to fulfilling them, and that schools are equipped with basic resources. The flip side of honour is responsibility. Teachers, who are irresponsible in the performance of their contractual duties or their care for children, forfeit respect from the local community and society. The informal controls on teachers articulate with formal bureaucratic accountability through the school committee. Local community leaders and representatives of parents sit on the school committee, which is empowered to communicate a teacher's disgrace to DEOs and, in extreme cases, independently dismiss a teacher. In practice, however, not all committees are well informed, well connected or confident enough to exercise these powers. There is considerable variation in their effectiveness between town and village, between districts and even between neighbouring schools. Similar to the situation Rose (2003) describes in Malawi, the committee's function is often reduced to extracting resources from the community whilst the reciprocal function of holding the school to account is overlooked.

Tanzanian teachers ongoing commitment to what they see as societal values highlights an interdependence between teachers' work and society that is relevant beyond Tanzania. The business analogy for education, which casts parents as

customers and, by implication, teachers as service providers, is shown to be erroneous in that accountability is a two-way street. Ultimately as adults, teachers, parents and education managers all have a shared moral responsibility to children that binds them together in relationships of mutual accountability and support. Teachers, as employees within an education system and citizens in society, belong to two structures that co-construct with them their occupational identity and are complicit in maintaining or undermining that identity. In England, teachers suffer stress and the discord of 'fragmenting identities' when as *individuals* they attempt to accommodate tensions and conflicts that belong to the wider education system and society. Tanzanian teachers become demoralised to the point of sabotaging their identity as teachers through unethical behaviour when they are isolated from administrative support in local community's, which also lack the cultural and material capacity to support the school.

Primary school teachers in England have found themselves increasingly squeezed between their own sense of moral accountability to their pupils and the bureaucratic performance requirements of a contractual-based model of professionalism (Osborn *et al.*, 2000). By contrast, Tanzanian teachers face the danger of falling between the three legs of the professional support stool - the local community, education administration and their own professional ethics. In town schools, these three strands are reasonably integrated and hence provide teachers with the moral and practical support to enable them to carry out their work. In rural schools, where teachers' work is in many ways much more challenging, not all communities are capable of morally supporting teachers or holding them accountable. The situation is aggravated by teachers' shared grievance over pay and employment conditions,

which can become the cause of what is effectively a long running informal 'go slow' protest action.

7.4.2 Chapter summary

To summarise, the findings of this chapter demonstrate how Tanzanian teachers' 'corporate self-image' is embedded in their social and systemic context. They assume the values of society around raising children and relations between adults and children. Their collective occupational identity as underpaid and unappreciated is a response to a systemic context of poor financial management and resource scarcity. Lack of administrative capacity throws teachers back on their sense of moral responsibility. At the same time, however, teachers are fully committed to education as an individual and national project. This situation is sometimes summed up by calling teaching a vocation as opposed to a job. Chapter nine will return to some of the themes in this chapter by considering the different ways that teachers combine their understandings of relations with pupils, local community and the state to produce differentiation in identity. The next chapter moves away from teachers' social and professional identities to focus on their classroom practice and educational values.

Chapter 8: Teachers in the Classroom

8.0 Introduction

The last chapter considered how teachers construct their identity collectively in relation to pupils and certain adult groups and in so doing touched on teachers' educational values. Context not only constrains how values are put into practice but also helps shape those values and how they are expressed. This is exactly what Akyeampong, Pryor & Ampiah observed in a study of Ghanaian teachers' understandings of teaching and learning:

> Few can doubt that the schools are not producing the results they should. Our analysis suggests that this is at least in part due to inadequacies in teachers' conceptualisations of educational purposes. However rather than seeing this as in some way the fault of the teachers, it is necessary to scrutinise the structures in which they are implicated. (Akyeampong *et al.* 1999:10)

The findings presented are based on two types of data, lesson observations and descriptions of practice elicited in the one-to-one interviews, combining an outsider's observations with insiders' reports (as Alexander advises, 2000:269). The first section outlines the research objectives and questions with which I approached classroom practice. This is followed by detailed description of four observed lessons in the second section. These descriptions, together with teachers' reports of their practice and educational beliefs, collected in the one-to-one interviews, are the basis of discussion in section three. The third section covers the typicality of the example lessons and teases out the various influences on practice. The final section is structured by a reading of Bernstein's work on pedagogy, in which I use his constructs of performance and competence to analyse Tanzanian primary pedagogy at the same time as drawing a comparison with Bernstein's account of changing British pedagogy. I finish by commenting on the feasibility of pedagogical change in

Tanzania.

8.1 Rationale for lesson observation and description

The twin aims of the overall research study are to describe teachers' working context and inquire into teachers' perceptions of their identity. The lesson observations and descriptions targeted the classroom environment, as an element of working context, together with teachers' beliefs and values relating to teaching and learning and teacher-pupil relations. These two objectives were addressed through the following research questions:

Objective 1: To describe the classroom environment

(i) How do the physical features of the classroom environment, such as the state of the building and classroom furniture, impact on teachers' ability to meet their criteria for good practice?

(ii) How does the availability of resources, especially textbooks, impact on teachers' ability to meet their criteria for good practice?

(iii) How do teachers adapt their practice to meet the learning needs of different class groups?

(iv) What are the norms of classroom practice in Tanzanian primary schools and what do these reveal about the systemic culture of primary education in Tanzania?

Objective 2: To understand teachers' beliefs and values relating to teaching and learning and teacher-pupil relations

(v) Which pedagogic strategies do teachers consider to be good practice and what do these reveal about their beliefs and values in relation to teaching and learning?

(vi) What do teachers' interactions with the whole class and individual pupils reveal about teachers' beliefs regarding teacher-pupil relations?

Taken together, these questions probe the interdependence between teachers' context, practice and values.

8.2 Lesson descriptions

I conducted twenty-eight lesson observations of nineteen teachers in four schools. The majority (twenty-three) of the observations were carried out at the two focus schools. Of the remaining five, two were in a village school in Shinyanga Rural and three were taught by JB, a village teacher in Mkuranga district and the only focus teacher not based at a focus school. These five observations were all 'showcases' in a way that lessons observed at the focus schools were not. The teachers in the Shinyanga Rural school went out of their way to create visual aids from manila paper and presented me with a lesson plan, written out on the first page of an otherwise blank exercise book. JB did not bother with lesson plans but he was keen that I should see him using visual aids. In Isega, the teachers continued with their ordinary timetable regardless of my presence. I arrived at Mandhari towards the end of term, when several classes had already completed the syllabus for the year. Hence, in some cases teachers delivered a repeat of a lesson from earlier in the year, rather than setting revision exercises as they might otherwise have done. It is worth noting that prior to starting the fieldwork, I had taken-for-granted the 'lesson' as a natural unit of observation with well-defined boundaries. However, the three teachers observed in schools other than the focus schools had only expected me to observe the presentation of new knowledge to the class, what I have called the 'explanation'. The significance of our different assumptions concerning the unit of observation are discussed in section 8.3.2.

I have selected four lessons to describe here, chosen to demonstrate not just the

range of classroom practice but also constraints and influences. The first three descriptions are of lessons with the S3-7 year groups and the last is an example of a S1 lesson. Two lessons are included of the same subject, Science. This is because there was little difference between the three subjects, Science, Social Studies and Vocational Studies, delivered as the transmission of factual knowledge. The other three curriculum subjects, Swahili, Mathematics and English, are concerned with the acquisition of skills. Of these, English is deliberately omitted because teachers' lack of fluency in the language tended to obscure their pedagogic competence and, in one case, impeded interactions with pupils. In taking the 'lesson' as the unit of description, I am consciously following Alexander's lead in his comparative study of five countries, *Culture and Pedagogy* (2000:Ch11). Like Alexander, my purpose in doing this is to strive for "a convincing kind of *holism*" (2000:271). Hence, the lesson descriptions include information on the physical classroom environment (Alexander gives lesson plans in chapter 13), its decorations and, in respect to the overall theme of the study, a very brief summary of the teachers' career to date. Two of the lessons were taught by focus teachers and a fuller personal narrative and description of their lifestyle is given in chapter six. The syllabus specification relating to the subject matter is given at the end of each lesson, to allow the reader to judge the extent to which pedagogy is circumscribed by curriculum. The 'whole lesson' format has the advantage of increasing 'inter-textual' comparability with the four examples of English lessons given in Alexander's *five countries* study (pp.291-6).

8.2.1 Mwl. Charles: S4 Science

Mwl. Perpetua Charles took S4 for science at Mandhari Primary School. She has been a grade A teacher for ten years, first at a neighbouring school and then for the last two years at Mandhari. She had several relatives living with her, all financially

dependent on her and her husband. At the time of this lesson observation, she was breast-feeding her second child. The family demands were taking their toll and Perpetua Charles' natural luminescence was suppressed by a depressive tiredness. It was the week following the S4 national examinations and the class had already completed the year's syllabus. For the sake of the observation, Mwl. Charles had selected a topic "to revise", repeating a lesson she had taught earlier in the year.

There are about fifty pupils in the class, squeezed into desks arranged in a horseshoe around three sides of the room looking in towards a large empty area in the centre of the room. A blackboard runs the length of the fourth wall. The other three walls are covered with handmade posters, either drawn on manila paper or mounted on dismantled cardboard boxes. These include the class timetable, a map of the school, punctuation marks with their use explained in Swahili, an illustrated list of tools, posters giving examples of opposites, plurals and the comparative form in English and Mathematics posters on metric units and fractions. Thick red paper chains are draped from ceiling beams and along the walls. Along one ceiling beam hangs a string of Swahili riddles and proverbs handwritten on heart shapes cut out from cardboard boxes. One says, "My countryside has three lions. (Kidneys)". Another reads, "A new chicken always has a rope tied to its leg". Pictures of prominent politicians, cut out from newspapers and labelled with name and position, are strung along another beam. In one corner of the classroom there is a broken desk, eight unfired handmade clay pots and half coconut shells on sticks, the products of Vocational Skills lessons. In another corner a "word tree" has been constructed out of twigs with a selection of vocabulary, each word carefully printed on a separate slip of paper, attached as imitation leaves. A redundant wire hangs from

the ceiling intended for a light fitting.

At the instant Mwl. Charles steps foot in the classroom, the monitor jumps up and shouts, "Attention" bringing his classmates to their feet. Not quite in unison, they recite the school motto in Swahili, "Education is the key to life", followed by the respectful greeting for elders, "Shikamoo Mwalimu". During this routine Mwl. Charles cleans the board, looking over her shoulder to give the response, "Marahaba, children". She then turns to face them and gives the instruction, "Close your exercise books. Listen to me". She starts to write on the board, asking the class, "What is the date today", before writing it. She then prints the subject, "SCIENCE" and lesson topic, "HYGIENE OF THE BODY". Mwl. Charles verbal explanation takes a "question and answer" format, with most of the class enthusiastically raising their hands to offer answers to her questions.

Mwl: To keep your body clean you have to do what?

Ans: Bathe.

Mwl: To bathe with what?

Ans: Clean water and soap.

Mwl: To be clean is to be presentable. What does it mean, to be presentable?

Ans: To apply oil (to your skin).

Ans: To comb your hair.

Mwl. Charles then writes "COSMETICS" on the board, asks who can give the meaning of cosmetics and selects two boys by name to answer. One offers, "To make the skin smooth and soft", delivered as a memorised textbook answer but one that is comprehended. Mwl. Charles refers to her lesson notes to copy precisely worded sentences on to the board, such as, "They protect the body so that it is not damaged by heat". She always elicits one or more suggestions from the class,

writing their answers on the board, before completing with any answers from her notebook not yet mentioned. Mwl. Charles stands in the centre of the room towards the front, visible and audible to everyone, projecting her voice without shouting. In this manner, after thirty-five minutes a numbered list consisting of between five and ten complete sentences is written under four headings (as illustrated in figure 8.1 below). At any time, she holds the attention of most of the class, although a few pupils are looking down or flipping through the exercise books they had been instructed to keep closed. Three, overcome by the heat or tiredness, droop over their desks. When Mwl. Charles spots a child looking up answers in a textbook, however, she takes it from him, hits him on the back with it twice before dropping it to the floor. At one point she breaks off to ask about pupils, who she has noticed are absent. She can name about two-thirds of the pupils in the class and once asks for the name of a pupil she does not recognise.

Fig. 8.1: Blackboard presentation

20/11/2002 SCIENCE HYGIENE OF THE BODY COSMETICS HOW TO KEEP COSMETICS	HOW TO USE COSMETICS SIDE EFFECTS OF COSMETICS	

She ends the explanation by asking if anyone has a question, to which there is no

response. She then rubs out everything on the board and asks the class questions. Many hands are raised so she gets the class to chant together, starting a sentence and breaking off midway so that they supply the next word. Forty minutes into the lesson she instructs the class to take out their exercise books. Under the heading "COSMETICS" she writes five numbered sentences on the board, some with missing words to be filled in. She then writes the subheading "EXERCISE" and sets three questions, starting with, "Name the things used to bathe". Not long after writing out the questions she asks the class, "Who has finished?" There is no answer so she perches on a broken chair in the front corner of the classroom. Perpetua Charles surveys the class tiredly, as if the last fifty minutes has drained her. Three minutes after the first inquiry she says, "If you have finished, bring me your work". Three boys bring her their exercise books, which she marks. She then ends the lesson by telling the class to collect up their books or, if they have not yet completed, continue with the work. The lesson lasted one hour, ending fifteen minutes earlier than scheduled on the timetable.

Table 8.1: Syllabus specification
Taken from (TIE, 1996b:66).

TOPIC	OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES

HEALTH AND WAY OF PREVENTION FROM DISEASES (a) Important requirements for Healthy Life-body cleanliness.	The pupils should be able to: 1. List the names of items used for body cleanliness. 2. Tell the differences among types of cosmetics (oils, powders and cream) used on the body. 3. Explain the effects of using cosmetics on the body.	The teacher should lead the pupils to discuss items and substances used for body cleanliness. Pupils should mention different types of cosmetics applied on the body. The teacher should lead pupils to discuss the effects of cosmetics applied on the body. Pupils should investigate the various groups of people who use cosmetics at bus stops and gatherings such as weddings, to find out their effects. The teacher should discuss with pupils the effect of cosmetics on the skin.

8.2.2 Mwl. JB: S5 Science

This is a S5 science lesson at a village school in Mkuranga, located about 5 km from the nearest main road and 10 km south of the district headquarters. The teacher, Mwl. James Bagohe, often abbreviated to JB, had qualified at grade A six years ago but waited three years to secure his first teaching post, at the school where I observed him.

The desks are arranged in three columns in the centre of the room, leaving an open space at the front and back. Twenty-one pupils are present, of which a substantial majority are girls. According to the register there should be twenty-eight pupils - sixteen girls, twelve boys - in the class. The classroom block is brand new, having been opened a few months earlier. The whitewashed walls are bare except for the class timetable written out on manila paper. There is a breeze through the room, which is rather dark as a wattle and daub classroom blocks the sun's light on one side. Throughout the lesson, noise can be heard from the larger and younger unattended classes in the dilapidated block. A bicycle has been neatly placed in the front corner of the classroom, opposite the door. With the exception of the class

timetable, the walls are bare.

As Mwl. JB stiffly walks into the classroom, followed by myself. The class monitor jumps up, calling out "Attention" and the class greet him. They wait, standing, as Mwl. JB instructs two pupils to re-seat themselves so that I can sit at their desk, behind the pupils. JB then divides the board into two halves and neatly prints and underlines the word, "SCIENCE", straddling the two halves. He leaves the date in the top corner. He then instructs the class to sit, explains that today they have a visitor, who will sit at the back and observe. He introduces today's lesson as continuing with the topic of electricity. He outlines different methods of producing electricity, writing short notes on the board and addressing questions to the class as he does so. Individuals, always boys, offer answers. At no point does Mwl. JB address a pupil by name.

Mwl: What are the two ways of producing electricity?

Boy: Chemically or mechanically.

Mwl: Today we will study the production of electricity by machines. Today we will study the production of electricity (*with a rise in tone*) ...

Class: ... by machine.

In this manner, he explains that two types of machines, generators and dynamos, produce electricity. He shows the class a commercial poster to explain how a hydroelectric power station works. The diagrams printed on it are too small to see from where I am seated. Mwl. JB tapes the poster next to the blackboard. When he comes to the sub-topic of 'the dynamo' he asks a boy to operate the dynamo of the bicycle in the corner. Being too short to manage the pedals, the tallest boy in the class is then called on to perform the demonstration.

Several of the pupils whisper amongst themselves. Throughout the lesson, JB stands at the front of the classroom, leaving about two metres between him and the pupils. When he has completed the explanation, JB summarises the material. He then asks the class whether they have any questions. There is no reply. He continues, "If you do not have a question then I do. Do you know that it is possible to generate electricity from the Sun?" There is still no response. "Do you or do you not know?" he asks with more emphasis so that the class respond in unison, rather unenthusiastically, "We do not know". He then proceeds to explain that electricity can be generated from the Sun using solar panels, sketching on the board a house with a panel on its roof. Mwl. JB again explains the distinction between chemical and mechanical methods, occasionally addressing questions to the class. He winds up by asking, "Have we understood each other?" and accepts the half-hearted collective response of "Yes". He then rubs out parts of the sentences he has written up on the board and says, "We'll leave it here for today. You have a written exercise to do". On his way out of the classroom, he signs the class's attendance register for teachers, which is kept by the class monitor. The lesson lasted fifteen minutes and had been taught later in the day than scheduled for my benefit.

Table 8.2: Syllabus specification
Taken from (TIE, 1996b:112).

TOPIC	OBJECTIVE	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES
Electrical energy	6. Explain how electric energy is generated and supplied/transmitted.	The teacher should lead pupils to discuss how electricity is generated. The teacher to lead pupils to visit a nearby electrical generator and observe its functions.

8.2.3 Mwl. Kabati: S4 Swahili

Mwl. Deograzia Kabati started teaching when she was thirty-two in 1990 with a grade

B certificate. She had been at Isega Primary School for several years.

The classroom building is about three years old and in good condition. The desks are arranged in three rows of pairs, running the length of the classroom up to within three metres of the blackboard. There are several posters taped to the wall, hand-made from manila paper. These include a map of the division (the administrative level between district and ward), a diagrammatic representation of musical scales, a list of punctuation marks explained in Swahili, a hand-drawn cartoon and the class timetable. In addition, there are four colourful cartoon posters that had been distributed by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC), aimed at encouraging community contribution to schools and discouraging sexual harassment of teenage school girls. It was raining earlier and is still overcast, a cool breeze enters through the pane-less windows. There are roughly forty-five children in the room, two or three sat at each pair of desks. There is a wide range in the children's heights and around four of the boys' voices are breaking.

The headteacher's Mathematics lesson is still in full swing when the bell for the next period rings. The start of his period had been delayed by urgent administrative business. Mwl. Kabati arrives a few minutes late and politely waits just outside the classroom door until the headteacher notices her and quickly winds up his lesson. Mwl. Kabati enters briskly and, after the greetings, leads with the first line of a song. As the class sings, she wipes the board, leaving only the vertical lines that divide it into three roughly equal thirds and the date in the top right hand corner. The lesson starts with proverbs and riddles. Mwl. Kabati starts off with a riddle and pupils raise their hands to offer answers. She selects a pupil by name, who stands to give the

answer. When the answer is correct, she instructs the class to give him or her "a prize". In unison, the whole class gives three staccato claps and chants "*hongera*" (meaning congratulations). The prizewinner then poses a riddle and Mwl. Kabati nominates someone else to answer it. As the learning game gains pace, it assumes the musical quality of a call and response song, with Mwl. Kabati conducting and taking the lead part. After five minutes, she breaks off the game to announce that today's lesson will be "dictation". She then starts another, equally rhythmic, question and answer session, this time with herself taking the part of the caller, asking questions on punctuation, and the whole class or individuals providing the response.

The second game lasts two minutes before Mwl. Kabati instructs the class to pick up their pens, open their exercise books, write today's date and then listen to her. She emphasizes the importance of careful listening, "Listen first, then write!" She notices that one boy has nothing to write with and reprimands him briefly, "Where is your pen? Did you come to school without a pen? Come and take this one." She gives him a pen of her own. Ten minutes after entering the classroom she starts the dictation. The class is silent, concentrating on the task. Mwl. Kabati reads a story from an exercise book about hawks. "Hawks are bad birds. We chase them away because they eat young chicks." She reads through the passage once, indicating full stops and then a second time, faster. After this a girl asks if she can go to the toilet, is permitted and sets off running, returning quickly. The dictation takes seven minutes and afterwards Mwl. Kabati instructs the class to open their textbooks and do a reading exercise. The class attempts to do her bidding but only seven pupils have a textbook and less than half the class can see, let alone read, one. Nonetheless, they all appear to be occupied, perhaps checking over their dictation

exercise.

Mwl. Kabati starts marking the dictation, moving systematically from desk to desk. She stands next to pupils' desks, bending from the waist to reach their books. After a minute she calls out, "Folks, please, who has taken Kristina's exercise book?" I do not notice a response. There is murmuring throughout the class of children reading out loud under their breath. For the next twenty-five minutes Mwl. Kabati marks and the class reads. Not long into the activity Mwl. Kabati wordlessly moves some pupils to positions closer to textbooks, so that most of the class is now near enough a textbook to read. Some stand to see over the shoulders of seated pupils. Fifteen minutes into the activity she spots a group of unoccupied boys. She demands of them, "Where are you reading? You are just sitting." They shuffle towards a group gathered around a textbook. A little later Mwl. Kabati moves one of them to another group, shortly instructing, "Sit here." At another point she responds to a growing restlessness by reminding the class that once she has finished marking she will ask them questions on the passage they are reading.

Five boys are grouped around a book close to where I am seated. They argue over the book, keeping their voices low. It quickly settles in a place where only two of them can see it clearly. These two read, one gazing at the book silently, the other reading out loud under his breath. The other three, who can only view it upside down, look around them. A colourful cartoon poster on the wall behind them catches their attention. The boy who was silently gazing at the book, turns his head to gaze out the window. Mwl. Kabati marks their group last. She then goes to the front of the classroom to read out questions on the passage they have been reading. Individual

pupils stand to give answers as complete sentences. The questions are straight forward, on the content and not interpretation of the story and most of the class raise their hands to every question. The story concerned hunting and farming to secure cooking ingredients. The boy, who was earlier moved to another position, is fidgeting. Mwl. Kabati walks towards him, taps him on the head with the textbook she is holding and admonishes him, "You are not with us." Fifteen minutes after the period was scheduled to finish, Mwl. Kabati tells the class to wait quietly for their next teacher to arrive and leaves. The lesson lasted fifty minutes, having run ten minutes overtime.

Table 8.3: Syllabus specification
Taken from (TIE, 1996a:22-28)

TOPIC	OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES
Reading (p.22)	The pupil should be able: To read quickly out loud by thinking about the following: comma, full stop, question mark, exclamation mark and quotation marks.	The teacher should lead the pupils to read quickly and expressively by use of groups, competition between groups and by allowing time for reading.
Dictation (p.23)	The pupil should be able: To listen attentively and to transcribe what is read by the teacher using joined-up writing.	The teacher should direct the pupils to listen attentively to what s/he will read and then dictate to them. The pupils should write what they hear using joined-up writing.
Proverbs (p.28)	The pupil should be able to: 1. give the meaning of proverbs. 2. ...	... ... Students should practice completing proverbs.

Examples of riddles and proverbs appropriate to S4 level.
Taken from (TIE, 1996a:76).

The old lady who does not put down her baggage. (Snail or tortoise).

His tears are our laughter. (Rain).

The dhow of the downtrodden does not sail fast.

The village cockerel does not crow in town.

The hoe discards no one.

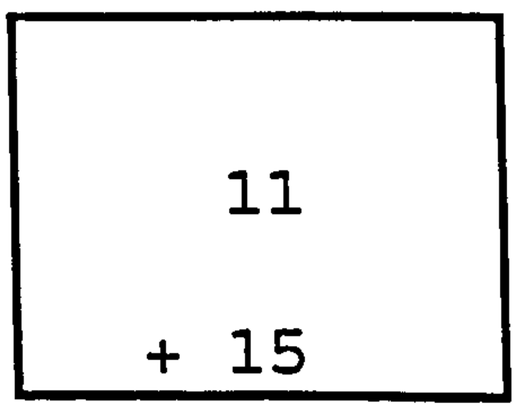
8.2.4 Mwl. Makonde: S1 Mathematics

Mwl. Hadijah Makonde's story is presented in chapter six. She struggled for several years to secure a place at Teachers' College. She was posted to Mandhari Primary School in 1982 and has stayed there ever since. Over the last ten years she has attended around four short courses, including one on Mathematics for S1-4 and one on treading and writing for S1-2. She has taken the S1 class for several years.

I count eighty-six children in the class. A roughly equal number of children in the same year group have been parked under a tree outside, waiting for a teacher to be free for them. The lesson was taught in the S2 classroom, which like other classrooms in Mandhari, was decorated with copious hand-made posters, pieces of card with pictures and words were strung along the ceiling beams. The desks, arranged in a horseshoe around three sides of the classroom, accommodate twenty-nine pupils, seven of whom are girls. Fifty-seven children sit in untidy rows on the floor in the middle of the horseshoe. Mwl. Makonde is left a narrow strip of space in front of the blackboard.

The class is singing before Mwl. Makonde and myself enter. Our entry is the sign for the class monitor to call the class to attention. Collectively they clamber to their feet and chorus, "Education is the key to life. Shikamoo Teacher!" The volume is deafening. Mwl. Makonde replies and the greeting ritual is repeated in English. Mwl. Makonde starts the lesson with a series of addition questions, taking answers from individuals who have done the sum in their heads. Pupils raise their arms,

straining to stretch as high as possible in their enthusiasm to attract the teacher's attention. After a couple of minutes of this, Mwl. Makonde launches into an example of short addition on the board, reminding the class that addition may be performed mentally or by mathematical calculation. Her speech is punctuated throughout with questions addressed to the whole class, continuously demanding they demonstrate attentiveness. A question may be asked twice if the first response is unconvincing or to emphasize an important point. Mwl. Makonde's voice and face are alive with expression, emanating warmth and encouragement. She starts the following interchange by complaining that some pupils had not been laying out their work properly yesterday and writing on the board:



Mwl: ... The second way I told you was to use numbers [written calculation], as I explained. The numbers on what side?

Class: Right.

Mwl: What side?

Class: Right.

Mwl: Now the top number, number eleven. What is on the right hand side?

Class: One (*Some say five, reading from the bottom number*).

Mwl: One. OK?

Class: Eeh.

Mwl: The number fifteen. What number is on the right?

Class: Five.

Mwl: Eeh?

Class: Five.

Mwl: Aya. One plus five, what do you get?

Class: Six.

Mwl: Eeh?

Class: Six.

Mwl: You write six underneath which number?

Class: Five.

Mwl. Makonde calls a girl to the front to demonstrate the next example on the board, she talks through the example as the girl writes, repeatedly demanding responses from the whole class. A third example is completed in a similar manner but more quickly. At one point, during the explanations a child sitting at a desk at the back of the class stands up and struts backwards and forwards in front of the desks in his enthusiasm to catch Mwl. Makonde's attention. She calls out to him to return to his seat. She then cleans the board and starts writing up questions to attempt. One child carefully picks his way through the children sat on the floor to the front of the classroom, walking right up to Mwl. Makonde to ask a question as if it is a private matter. She listens to him, bending slightly in order to hear. She then reminds the class how to present their work. She asks if anyone else has a question before resuming to write on the board. As she writes, she tries to control the class's chattering, "Who is talking. Do your work in your exercise books or don't you have a book?" She walks up to one girl sitting at the end of the desks and demands sharply, "Are you working or laughing?"

After filling the board with four addition questions, Mwl. Makonde starts walking around the classroom. She bends over one child seated on the floor to correct her work. She physically corrects the posture of the girl earlier reprimanded for laughing, talking to her quietly. She moves from pupil to pupil, correcting work, once sharpening a pencil. She has to bend over awkwardly to help the pupils seated on

the floor and spends more time with pupils sitting at desks. After a while she asks if anyone has finished. A boy stands up and goes to the front. He is sent on an errand whilst his book is marked. Mwl. Makonde sits at a desk facing the class just next to the open door. When the boy returns Mwl. Makonde has a short conversation with him. Children go up to her desk one by one to have their books marked. They form a queue, kneeling in a line that starts at the teacher's desk and gradually lengthens until it stretches to the back of the classroom. Many take their school bags and brooms with them. Several of the children look pleased with themselves after their work is marked. The general noise in the room increases and Mwl. Makonde announces that those who have finished should leave the classroom. I sit next to her and join in the marking. When yesterday's exercise has not been completed the pupils insist I mark that first. Most have made mistakes and a few have understood very little of the method. As I mark, Mwl. Makonde occasionally chips in with a comment, addressing each pupil by name. I feel overwhelmed by the enormity of Hadijah Makonde's teaching task. A little after ten o' clock, the time for morning break, Mwl. Makonde dismisses the last twenty pupils, whose work has not yet been marked, promising to mark their books next time.

Table 8.4: Syllabus specification
Taken from (TIE, 1996c:7).

TOPIC	OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES
Whole numbers 0 to 50.	Add numbers horizontally and vertically to get sum not exceeding 50.	... The teacher should show how to add numbers horizontally and vertically without carrying over. ... The pupils should do exercises of addition of numbers with sum up to 50 horizontally and vertically ... .

8.3 Discussion

In the one-to-one interviews, teachers were asked to describe a lesson they had taught within the last two weeks, which they felt had gone particularly well. This yielded thirty reports of lesson accounts that covered a greater range of teaching-learning methods than were observed. Being the teachers' perspectives they also included information not accessible through observation alone, such as intended learning objectives and, interestingly, what was and was not bracketed as 'teaching'.

On the other hand, taken-for-granted aspects of classroom practice, such as the quality of teacher-pupil interactions, were omitted from teachers' subjective accounts of their practice. My interpretation of the understandings implicit in what teachers said and did was included in the material for discussion groups, as a means of triangulation. In this section, the four lessons are discussed in relation to the whole sample of lessons observed and teachers' reports of their practice. Common features of classroom practice are identified and the impact of local influences considered. The discussion is divided into three sub-sections. In the first, I discuss the typicality of the example lessons with respect to the condition of the classrooms and class-size. Also included is how informants perceived class-size to impact on their teaching. Second, I consider pedagogic strategies in relation to teachers' understanding of the teaching-learning process and their relationship to the national curriculum. In the last section, I turn to teacher-pupil relations, discussing the typicality of the example lessons and tracing within them the influences of local culture, local donor-funded projects and shared beliefs within the teaching profession.

8.3.1 Classrooms and class-size

Several of the schools visited in Coast Region had abundantly decorated

classrooms. All these schools were included in a project conducted by the Children's Book Project (CBP). By comparison classrooms visited in Shinyanga were bare. Isega, with its few posters, was more decorated than most. Mandhari was the only school where I observed the horseshoe arrangement of desks. It made all pupils clearly visible to the teacher and vice versa but also resulted in crowding at desks as children were concentrated at the outer edges of the classroom.

Hadijah Makonde's extremely crowded class was typical of S1 classes in both towns and villages. One interviewee gave the following description of his class of 106 S1 pupils:

> There is lots of noise and there are 30 minutes. Now I don't know who I shall help and who I shall leave. Even if you fly like an angel you cannot reach all of them. Even for just one second, you cannot reach all of the children. So the one who gets, gets. The one who misses, misses. (S1 teacher, Kibaha District)

The frustration of experienced and competent teachers, like Mwl. Makonde, could be summarised as "We are able to teach, enable us to teach." They were aware of the learning needs of their pupils and knew how they should be met but were prevented, most especially by class-size, from meeting those needs. S1 and S2 teachers felt this most acutely, not only because their classes were the largest but because they especially valued one-to-one interactions with pupils:

> To teach a hundred children is very hard work. ... Even to talk to each one [is impossible], a child needs me to touch him/her. (S1 teacher, Shinyanga town,)

At the other extreme, JB's thinned out S5 class was typical of class sizes, if not gender ratios, village teachers cited for the upper year groups. Dachi and Garrett (2003:26) calculated an average attendance of around 75% for the schools in Mkuranga district included in their study, with attendance for girls being slightly higher than that for boys.

8.3.2 Teaching-learning and the curriculum

As in the two science lessons described above, oral methods that emphasised memory and recall did not rely on pupil use of textbooks. Such lessons typically started with an instruction to close exercise and textbooks, in the belief that pupils needed to give their full attention to the explanation:

> When I enter the class, I like all the students to hear me, I don't like to see one student is writing, one is doing this. I tell the children they should listen first. (S3-7 teacher, Shinyanga town)

One of the focus teachers did relax this requirement with the higher years, expecting S6 pupils to extract answers from the text. All but one of the accounts of Social Studies and Science lessons had a very similar format to Mwl. Charles' and Mwl. JB's science lessons, with fill-the-blank exercises being the preferred means of assessment. In most cases, the request to describe a lesson elicited an account of teacher explanation and teachers had to be prompted to give information on written work. "Teaching" was understood as delivering an explanation. Assigning written work was either regarded as unimportant or as assessment, 'assessment' being distinct from 'teaching'. This shared understanding must be supported, perhaps inadvertently, by nationwide inspection practice. It is also possible that it has evolved in part as a coping strategy in response to persistent staff shortage in remote schools (exemplified by JB's working context described in chapter six, section 6.4, p.185-6).

The emphasis on explanation implies a view of teaching as knowledge transfer, where transfer is not as unproblematic as Freire's tea-pouring analogy suggests. It has a haphazard element, demanding ingenuity and tenacity of teachers and learners. It may be likened to a game of catch with an awkward slippery ball. The teacher throws out knowledge to pupils, who try to catch and keep hold of it. If they

fail to grasp it the first time, the teacher should try again, devising alternative strategies for projecting the subject matter. Some learners are more agile and adept at the learning game, literally "the quick ones" (*wapesi*). Others are naturally slow and clumsy, literally called "the heavy ones" (*wazito*). The teacher should ensure that all in the class catch and retain the subject matter and this means giving extra time to slower pupils. However, they also need to keep the whole class moving in a steady march through the syllabus and so, unfortunately, some pupils are left behind. These are the perpetual stragglers, who always only partially comprehend subject matter. When the 'throw and catch' metaphor was presented in 'discussion meetings' as a metaphor for teachers' *understanding* of good practice, it was accepted as a description of *good* practice. Several groups said that when classes were oversized, a teacher did not have time to follow up slower pupils and ensure they had caught the ball. One group embellished the metaphor further, saying the ball might even be defective, too large or too small for the pupils to catch, meaning that teaching techniques or subject matter may be inappropriate to pupils' ability and age.

With one exception (a Vocational Skills lesson in which the whole period was taken up with making paper chains), "question and answer" was used extensively in every lesson observed. Enthusiasm for chorused responses tailed off higher up the school but older pupils did seem to enjoy answering non-trivial questions individually, as in the riddle and proverbs game. On the whole, teachers readily adapted their teaching style to these differing needs. Informants unanimously embraced the principle of participation (*ushirikishaji*) and frequently cited "question and answer" (*maswali na majibu*) as an example of participative practice. Some described it as a new method,

contrasting it with 'theory' (*nadhifu*) or 'lecture' methods. However, long service teachers, with twenty or more years' experience, did not consider it new:

> In the past, we used to teach first and then ask the children questions. But now, you first discuss with the children, you put them into groups [and ask them], "What do you think?" The children begin to give answers before you have told them anything. This is a little different. (Kibaha district, teacher who had started service in 1975)

This teacher was amongst a minority who distinguished between teacher-directed and participative "question and answer". One informant explained that since she had started teaching in the early seventies, primary school pupils had become younger and so responded to participative strategies rather than "theory", which had suited older youth.

Mwl. JB's enthusiasm for visual aids reflected a feature of his school's culture. On my first visit, the staff room was an Aladdin's cave of handmade visual aids, a display unmatched by any other school. The use of visual aids (*zana*) was repeatedly described in interviews as good practice. Occasionally, visual aids were used superfluously in lessons and they appeared to have been generated for the observer's benefit. On other occasions, however, their use was entirely appropriate, as when a teacher showed his S6 class a commercial poster featuring a diagram that was clearly visible from the back of the class. Ignoring the original English, he re-labelled it in Swahili and left it taped to the wall alongside other similarly modified posters from previous lessons. The use of teaching aids, like participation, had been recently promoted in seminars (Oxfam seminars in Shinyanga town and the CBP seminars in Coast Region) but was not considered new:

> The person I copy is my father, who was a teacher. Because he was a teacher he didn't explain just with words, he would get an orange, ... (Short service male teacher, Shinyanga)

Informants who had started teaching in the early seventies complained that teaching

aids were not supplied to schools, as they had been in the past:

> It is as if they have taken something from the past that was forgotten in between and tried to bring it back. In the past you found teaching aids in the classroom but they were already made. Now we make them ourselves, with the children. (Long service teacher, Kibaha)

Group work (*vikundi*) was a widely recognised strategy and one that was frequently used in practical lessons, such as 'cooking chips' in Vocational Skills, when equipment had to be shared. Besides practicals, the use of group work was described in three lesson accounts and observed twice. Groups were used for exercises in recall of a teacher-led explanation, to tackle an exercise or problem collectively and once in a decision-making process. This last was a Vocational Skills lesson, in which the class had to decide on how to use a harvest of sesame seed they had grown on the school farm. The customary arrangement of desks in rows (or even a horseshoe) indicated that group work was an occasional deviation from the norm of the whole class format.

The textbook stories and sentences used in Swahili to develop reading and writing skills often carried moral messages. A reading exercise concerned a boy and girl preparing a meal for family visitors. In a comprehension text, a girl and a boy were rewarded by the praise of a visiting female education officer after cleaning the school compound. In one lesson observed, the teacher rejected a correctly constructed sentence, "The pupil stood on the desk" because standing on desks damaged them. A S1 teacher gave her class the sentence "*Dhuluma ni dhambi*", which may be translated as, "Taking what is someone's else's is wrong" (literally, '*Oppression is a sin*').

In terms of the content, teachers adhered to the national syllabi, often working through it page by page. In the lesson accounts, informants stated their objectives in almost identical terms to those given in the syllabus. Their longer term aims for the development of their class was simply given as taking them through the syllabus in preparation for the end of year examination. This loyalty to the syllabus reflected the significance attributed to the Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE). The syllabus was often referred to as "the textbook" and no doubt the paucity of alternative texts was also a factor. In addition, curricular conformity was supported by inspection practice aimed at ensuring uniform implementation. Beyond this, teachers saw the syllabus as a set of guidelines provided by the government, which they were contractually obliged to follow. The syllabus was never resented as constraining, although the 'new' subject, Vocational Skills was considered challenging and the re-introduction of English for S1 and S2 was controversial.

The curriculum was viewed as a ladder, with well-defined rungs. Each pupil starts at the bottom in nursery or S1 and after being taken through the prescribed material is assessed. If they appear to have mastered that step they may continue to the next. The educational ladder, as one discussion group observed, is a tapering one. More pupils enrol in S1 then complete S7 and fewer still continue to secondary. This gives rise to an impoverished 'jackpot' view of primary education, where despite the indisputable socio-cultural benefits of seven years schooling, ultimately success is judged by the PSLE. Hence, many informants claimed that what made them happy in their work was seeing some of their pupils continue to secondary school. However, a substantial minority of informants criticised "some other teachers" for privileging examination success over understanding as a learning objective. This

group appreciated the vocational aim of the primary curriculum and felt that schools were failing to prepare pupils for self-reliance and hence, failing the large number who do not proceed to any form of further education.

The teaching methods used to deliver the syllabus conformed to the standard practice that had evolved for a given subject and age group. Standard practice, however, was not static but over the years had been adapted to the younger age of learners or introduction of Vocational Skills. In the shorter term, teachers also seemed to respond to in-service training, such as the CBP or Oxfam seminars. Standard practice, however, evolved gradually and was not susceptible to sudden transformation. Embedded within it was a memory of how things were done in the past. Hence, the current fashion for 'participation' is interpreted through the practice of 'question and answer', which may be traced back to the oral methods of pre-literate societies.

8.3.3 Classroom management and teacher-pupil interaction

Whilst there was no variation in teaching methods between teachers and schools, there were distinct differences in the quality of teacher-pupil interactions. Of all the teachers observed, JB showed the most exaggerated bias in favour of boys. He was aware of this problem and, like other male village teachers interviewed, attributed it to girls' bashfulness. Other patterns of favouritism that were not gender-based were observed in Mandhari classrooms, for example favouring pupils sat on one side of the classroom, pupils with the greatest facility for the subject or smartly dressed prefects. When some children had to sit on the floor, those at desks tended to receive more attention. Isega teachers made conscious efforts to ensure equality in the classroom. It helped that they knew most or all of their pupils by name. Mwl.

Charles and Mwl. Makonde could name more pupils than any of the other teachers I observed at Mandhari. Reminders to the whole class to keep quiet and keep on task were more common at Isega. This cohered with a discipline regime that relied less on punishment but put more effort into maintaining order than that at Mandhari. At Isega, individual pupils' attention seeking antics were deliberately ignored and minor disruptions were diffused non-ostentatiously, as when Mwl. Kabati re-seated a restless boy. At Mandhari, reprimands were more likely to be a spectacle, as when Mwl. Charles theatrically dropped a pupil's exercise book to the floor.

Mwl. Makonde and, to a lesser extent, Mwl. Charles were relatively generous in dispensing praise and familiar in their classroom manner, compared to their colleagues. In three other lessons at Mandhari, I did not hear a single affirmative comment from the teacher. Young male teachers, like JB, maintained a physical distance between themselves and the class similar to that between a performer and his audience. The arrangement of desks was reminiscent of an auditorium, with desks frequently clustered towards the back of the classroom, affording the teacher a wide stage, on which to perform, at the front. Everywhere, teachers preferred to stand over pupils rather than crouch down to their level.

Isega teachers' classroom management and manner may have been influenced by a recent seminar they had attended promoting pedagogical approaches with an explicit value-basis in the human rights agenda. Whilst seminars were far more numerous in Coast Region, the majority were reported as being concerned with teaching techniques. Another factor is that on average Isega teachers were older, with more years teaching experience than those at Mandhari and this reflected in their

confidence. One informant, reflecting on seven years in teaching, outlined a relationship between confidence and the quality of his relations with pupils:

> I have developed that characteristic of being confident, to make contact with people in the class. Lets say, to co-operate with pupils so that it is easy to work with confidence. (S3-7 teacher, Shinyanga village)

Eleven of the one-to-one interviewees contrasted a fierce fear-engendering relationship and one variously described as close, loving or co-operative, in which pupils "feel free with their teachers":

> A teacher should be close to his/her pupils, if you are close to a pupil you will have an understanding of him/her. You will know his/her problems so that you know how to correct him/her. If a pupil is not learning well, you will know why. May be s/he is ill, may be s/he does not get enough food at home. (S3-7 teacher, Kibaha District)

There were also suggestions that some degree of distance in teacher-pupil relations was appropriate, the relationship should be "not too fierce or too gentle" (Short service teacher, Kibaha). When emotive descriptors, such as 'loving' or being 'close' to pupils, were used the benefits were described in terms of pupil learning rather than non-cognitive aspects of personal development. Taking the findings from interviews and observations together, it appears that whilst a quality in teacher-pupil relations, perhaps best described as 'contact', is associated with effectiveness, this is in a context where formality is a taken-for-granted feature of the teacher-pupil relation. In other words, teachers strive for a rapport with their pupils that enables them to know and hence, respond to learning needs, at the same time as maintaining a formality appropriate to their position as teachers. Confident teachers, like Mwl. Makonde, who can take their authority for granted find it easier to "contact" with pupils. Teachers, like Mwl. JB, who lack confidence in their teaching skills, consciously work at distancing themselves from their pupils in order to exaggerate their authority.

8.4 Comparison with England

8.4.1 Comparison between Tanzanian and English lessons

As might be expected, reading the lesson descriptions given in section 8.2 alongside Alexander's example lessons for England throws up some stark differences as well as some similarities. There are very obvious differences arising from the contrasting resource wealth of the two education systems. The class-sizes vary much more in Tanzania than in England. In England, non-teaching assistants or special needs teachers may monitor or take groups of pupils out of the classroom, providing the type of support for which there is no parallel in Tanzania. English teachers have to hand a range of teaching and learning aids that are unavailable to Tanzanian teachers. Other differences are cultural. For example, the lengths of lessons vary more greatly in Tanzania despite official uniformity in lesson lengths across schools (see section 4.3.3, p. 132-134). There were both differences and similarities in the organisation of pupils and classrooms. Desks in England were arranged so that pupils sat in groups and different groups may be assigned different activities, even though this did not necessarily mean that they worked collaboratively. This meant that the teacher might be occupied with only one group for quite long lengths of time. However, like Mwl. Kabati and Mwl. Makonde, teachers also spent time with individuals. Despite having a much smaller class than Mwl. Makonde, the teacher in one of Alexander's example lesson (lesson 11.16, p.295-6) had the exact same dilemma that whilst she was marking the completed work of some pupils, she could not attend to those taking longer to do a set exercise.

English and Tanzanian teachers share some pedagogical strategies, both use 'question and answer', sometimes in very similar ways, for example, getting

individuals to answer mental arithmetic questions or the whole class to read individual words out loud. The English teachers set their pupils a greater range of more imaginative tasks and these were far more suited to accommodating a range of abilities. The most striking differences, however, were with respect to pedagogical objectives. The teachers in Alexander's example lessons assigned learning activities that were open ended and involved pupils in constructing a text. Examples were writing an essay on 'my bedroom' and using books to research answers to questions addressed to a knight in armour. The more or less explicitly stated purpose of these learning activities was to develop competencies, for example, writing in paragraphs or doing research.

8.4.2 Performance and competence pedagogic modes

Basil Bernstein's work (Bernstein, 1975, 1996) suggests reasons for the differences between primary pedagogy in Tanzania and England. Bernstein has applied his theory of educational codes, designed to "provide models, which can generate specific descriptions" (Bernstein, 1996:17), to educational change in Britain in the latter half of the twentieth century. Hence, he provides both analytical tools and a succinct account of English pedagogy. I start by explaining the meaning of performance and competence modes and summarising Bernstein's account of how English primary pedagogy has moved between them. I then move onto discussing how the systemic contexts of Tanzania and England select between pedagogic modes.

The requirement to *reproduce*, as opposed to create, knowledge is a defining characteristic of what Bernstein calls performance models:

> Briefly, a performance model of pedagogic practice and context places the emphasis upon a specific output of the acquirer, upon a particular text the acquirer is expected

> to construct, and upon the specialized skills necessary to the production of this specific output, text or product. (Bernstein, 1996:57-8)

Bernstein contrasted performance and competence modes of pedagogy in his description of changes in British primary education from the 1950s onwards. Throughout most of the history of formal education, British schools have utilised performance modes. In performance models, learners are required to produce a specific output and hence, are evaluated on the basis of what is absent from their output, i.e. the shortfall between their output and the text to be reproduced. Evaluative criteria are explicit, as is teachers' control over pupil activity. Tanzanian primary school teachers described their practice in terms that fit Bernstein's description of the performance mode. They perceived themselves as transmitters of knowledge or skills and their pupils as acquirers, as illustrated by the 'throw and catch' analogy. However, the same analogy allowed room to improve the pedagogic relationship without re-conceptualising it. Isega teachers had improved the quality of the learning experience for pupils by striving to treat them fairly and provide them with equal learning opportunity, without altering the basic premises of the teacher-pupil relationship. They still conceived pupils' role as responding to verbal questions and completing simple written exercises, aimed at testing recall or developing literacy or numeracy skills. Although teachers explained that 'participative strategies' could be used to elicit pupils' own ideas or prior knowledge, they were generally used to lead them to a statement pre-specified by the syllabus.

Table 8.5: Some contrasting aspects of performance and competence modes
Taken from (Osborn *et al.*, 2000:237)

	Performance Mode **'Visible Pedagogies'**	**Competence Mode** **'Invisible Pedagogies'**
Autonomy	Limited	Considerable
Space	Explicit regulation	Flexible boundaries and use
Time	Strong structuring, sequencing and pacing	Flexible, emphasis on present experiences
Activity	Strong control over selection of knowledge and explicit promotion of specialised subjects and skills	Emphasis on realisation of inherent learner capabilities through subject-integrated and learner controlled activities
Evaluation	Emphasis on correct products or capabilities using explicit and specific performance criteria	Emphasis on immediate, present qualities using implicit and diffuse criteria
Control	Explicit structuring and systems for classification, setting and differentiation through instruction	Relatively 'invisible', with control inhering in interpersonal communications and relationships
Pupil Products	Pupil products are simply taken to indicate performance, as objectified grades. Teachers instruct and assess using nationally defined procedures and criteria	Pupil products are taken to indicate a stage of cognitive, affective or social development. Teachers 'read' and interpret learner products using specialised professional judgement and knowledge
Pupil learning	Highlighting performance orientation and explicit attainments. Tendency to produce instrumentalism and 'surface learning'. Risk of learned helplessness and withdrawal	Highlighting intrinsic motivation and encouraging mastery orientation. Potential for 'deep learning', but tendency to produce routinisation and evasion

Bernstein associates the competence mode with a range of theoretical developments in the social sciences that viewed subjects as "active and creative in the construction

of a valid world of meanings and practice" (Bernstein, 1996:56). Competence modes depend on a 'universal democracy of acquisition' and contain a suspicion of hierarchical relations. Evaluation is oriented towards celebration of what is present in the learner's output rather than pointing out what is absent. Consequently, evaluation criteria are not made explicit and the transmitter requires an extended education in competence educational theories. Control is diffused through interpersonal relations between the learner and the teacher, prompting Bernstein to characterise competence modes as "invisible pedagogies" (Bernstein, 1975). In the 1950s and 1960s, political and educational factors colluded to allow primary educators in England the space to introduce competence modes of pedagogy. These factors included the professionalisation of primary teaching, the associated rise in academic status of teacher training institutions and political permission for teacher autonomy in the classroom (Hoyle & John, 1995). Perhaps most crucial, however, was the comprehensivisation of secondary education, which brought with it the abolition of the eleven plus examination, taken at the end of the primary cycle, hence releasing primary schools from their selective function. As far as the teaching of young children is concerned, the competence mode also resonated with a longstanding humanist tradition, which can be traced back to the Froebelist movement amongst kindergarten educators in the nineteenth century.

Competence modes, Bernstein points out, are expensive in terms of the material resources required by the school, the elaborate training required for teachers and the hidden time demands on teachers:

> The teacher often has to construct the pedagogic resources; evaluation requires time in establishing the profile of each acquirer; and in discussing projects with groups, socializing parents into the practice is another requirement; establishing feedback on the acquirer's development (or lack or it) is a further time cost. (Bernstein,

1996:63)

The time cost, Bernstein goes on to observe, is met not from organisational budgets "but charged to the individual commitments of teachers". Hence, the open-ended nature of teachers' work that leaves them with a sense of guilt (commented on by A. Hargreaves, 1994) and investment of 'self' (first described by Nias, 1989) may be regarded as characteristic of the competence mode, at least in the form it has taken in England. Equally, the practice of the competence mode is dependent on teachers being allowed autonomy and having an internalised sense of their moral responsibility (Osborn *et al.*, 2000).

The efforts of successive British governments to retrieve control of curriculum and pedagogy from educators has resulted in a reversion to performance modes of pedagogy. In the wake of these changes, teachers who committed to the ethos of competence approaches, complained of stress. They were observed to 'fragment' their identities (Menter *et al.*, 1997:115) as, for the first time, they distinguished between the role of good teacher, which they performed for inspectors or parents, and the 'real me' they were outside of school (Troman, 2000; P.J. Woods & Jeffrey, 2002). The irony, pointed out by Osborn *et al.* (2000:236-7) is that the performance mode is imposed on schools at a time when, according to the ideology of a 'learning society', the economy requires resilient and flexible learners possessed of competencies. Hence, the direction of change in English primary schools is pushing them towards a dilemma that has dogged the Tanzanian primary education for decades, that of producing a competent workforce by the means of performance pedagogies (see section 4.1.3, pp.109-111).

8.4.3 Pedagogy and context

Bernstein constructed his theory of educational codes on a foundation of knowledge categorisation. Quite simply, performance codes are governed by the principle that things should be kept apart and competence codes by the principle things should be brought together. Just as fundamental, the contextual principle of competition versus equality of acquisition (as distinct from equality of opportunity) determines the feasibility of either code. Performance models are sustained and permeated by a context of competition. Hence, a political pre-occupation with national economic competitiveness led the British government to impose a performance model on schools. Competitive instruments, such as league tables and the quasi-marketisation of education, have contributed towards creating and maintaining a climate of performativity. Unsurprisingly, this has resulted in 'failing' schools as well as the vaunted winners of the badge of excellence. Whilst competition has, to an extent, been artificially engineered by policy in England, in Tanzania it is driven by genuine scarcity. Amongst pupils, scarcity of resources means that pupils have to compete with their classmates for a desk and chair, for teacher attention, for sight of a textbook, even for a cup of soup during the morning break. Scarcity of educational provision and economic opportunity in the 'world of work' intensifies competition in the Primary School Leaving Examinations (PSLE) both between individuals and between schools. Schools also compete for resources distributed by district offices and sponsors. Scarcity creates patterns of inequality even as it drives competition.

Performance as a response to genuine scarcity, however, is very different from that created artificially by policy. The performance mode of Tanzania is pre-occupied with the material and instrumental and cannot afford to exercise accountability with such

rigour as to produce reactions of stress, identity fragmentation or a resort to dramaturgical strategies amongst teachers. Neither, is there any need to engage in a 'struggle for the soul of the teacher' (Ball, 1999) for teachers have never known a competence mode of pedagogy and accept the logic of competition. Bernstein's theory applied to a comparison of Tanzanian and English primary schools takes us back to Guthrie's (1990) argument, echoed by others (e.g. Crossley & Guthrie, 1987; Monk, 1999), that teachers in developing countries are constrained to whole class teaching strategies by their physical, organisational and social contexts. In countries like Tanzania, transformation to a competence mode is not compatible with primary schools' selective function and further, is unaffordable, both in terms of education budgets and the demands it places on teachers. However, teachers are open to and interested in the ideas of competence modes. The most intransigent barriers to the implementation of competence pedagogies in Tanzania are economic and systemic, not cultural (Akyeampong et al. came to a similar conclusion when they talked to Ghanaian primary teachers, 1999). This rather depressing conclusion only rules out the possibility of change if it is supposed that education systems and educators are faced with an 'either/or' decision between the performance and competence modes. In actuality, elements of each may co-exist. The Primary Assessment, Curriculum and Experience (PACE) project found that through collaboration some English teachers managed to satisfy both their moral sense of responsibility and bureaucratic accountability, or to 'domesticate' the NC to the educative values of competence (Osborn *et al.*, 2000). Likewise, many Tanzanian teachers are attempting to put the ideas of 'participation' and children's rights into practice within a performance system, as was demonstrated by the value put on 'being close to pupils'. The traditional use of proverbs in Swahili lessons is one long established practice that elicits pupils'

contribution of their own knowledge.

8.4.4 Lessons for competition and competence

It is often assumed, usually implicitly, within education and development literature that educational improvement involves changing teachers' practice to more competence based modes. At the same time, however, competition and measurement of performance is assumed by some policy makers within high-income countries, such as England, to be the route to improving their education systems. In England, government has resources to implement changes that have led to pedagogy shifting in the direction of performance. In Tanzania, the resources needed to transform pedagogic norms from performance to competence are simply not available. However, teachers can and do find ways to make the learning experience of their pupils more equitable and participative. For those wishing to change teachers' practice in Tanzania, there are two lessons to be learnt from a comparison with England. First, teachers are constrained by a context of competition to operating by and large within a performance mode and improvements, for the foreseeable future, will have to come about within that mode. Second, an experience of competence modes in another country, such as England, may partially blind us to competence practice in Tanzania. This is because the competence mode, as it is practiced in England, is closely integrated with the humanist tradition that views education as a personal rather than social project. Hence, the interpersonal relationship between an individual teacher and pupil is emphasised and competence is associated with the personalisation of educational programmes.

It is conceivable that a distinctly Tanzanian competence model may be developed that is much less costly than English models, both in terms of budgets and the

demands on teachers. It would draw on oral techniques already used by teachers (question and answer, debate, drama) and make greater use of collaborative group activities than the English one. It would value peer cooperation and might assess pupils in groups rather than individually. Indeed, the concept of 'a distinctive Tanzanian competence model' is not mere hyperbole, although it is not currently located within schools. The 'Theatre for Development' movement, associated with the Department of Fine and Performing Arts at the University of Dar es Salaam has a thirty-year history of using theatre as a constructive research and education tool (Mlama, 1991). The current 'Tuseme' project that facilitates secondary school students to investigate and articulate social issues that impact directly on their own lives has emerged from this tradition. Pupil-participation or child-centred education is included in Haki Elimu's agenda for change and although Haki Elimu is strongly influenced and supported by UNICEF, it has succeeded to some extent in assimilating the human rights agenda into a distinctively Tanzanian approach. Haki Elimu utilises a purely cultural strategy aimed at awareness-raising and encouraging discussion on educational issues throughout the whole of Tanzanian society. The cumulative effect of initiatives, such as Tuseme and Haki Elimu, may be a modification of practice and, for teachers, a stimulating exposure to new ideas. However, wholesale transformation of the primary pedagogy from a performance to a competence mode is highly unlikely in a context of scarcity. This does not, however, diminish the value of initiatives that as well as improving the quality of educational experience of those pupils, with whom they come into direct or indirect contact, also keep alive and popularise educational ideas related to the 'competence mode'.

8.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have used descriptions of lessons that I observed as illustrations of

Tanzanian primary school teachers' classroom practice. These were then discussed together with findings from the interview data relating to educational values, showing, where relevant, the influence of school culture. The discussion included understandings of the teaching-learning process, the purpose of education, attitudes towards the curriculum and teacher-pupil relations within the classroom. By drawing a comparison with England, I was able to apply Bernstein's conceptualisation of performance and competence pedagogy to Tanzania arriving at conclusions of relevance to both Tanzania and England. The next chapter brings together the concerns of this and the last two chapters in order to arrive at a theoretical model for teacher identity in Tanzania.

Chapter 9: A Typology of Tanzanian Primary Teacher Identities

9.0 Introduction

So far, I have approached teachers' professional self-identity from three different angles. Chapter six focussed on three teachers in order to demonstrate how personal self-identity interacts with professional self-identity. It also illustrated how to varying degrees and in various ways, individuals' self-identity is constructed in dialogue with shared collective identities. Chapter seven outlined a collective identity for teachers constructed from the shared discourses describing their responsibilities and relations to pupils, society and the state. Chapter eight focussed on what is often taken as the core of teaching, classroom practice, and the educational values that directly influence how teachers' conceptualise what they do or aspire to do in the classroom. This chapter synthesises the topics of the last three chapters into a typology of Tanzanian teacher identities. The typology, although in essence a form of generalisation, captures the '*différance*' within teacher identity, including the change over time implied by Derrida's wordplay.

Researchers have employed various techniques for representing the trends and diversity they have found in teacher identity. Connell (1985) created five fictive composite characters to communicate his findings on teachers' work in Australia. Osborn (1996a) carried out a case studies of two teachers, who contrasted in their response to education reform, as part of the much larger PACE project. So far, I have used a similar strategy to Osborn in chapter six, by focussing on three individual teachers. In this chapter, I follow in the footsteps of Gipps *et al.* (1995:32-

49), who described three "models" of teacher assessment they found amongst English primary teachers. Welmond has also used a similar strategy for describing teacher identity in Benin, which is discussed below. I have used the words 'typology' and 'types' because they convey the fact that the typology is a simplification of the variety within Tanzanian teacher identity. It is, however, a simplification that highlights the strengths and vulnerabilities of primary teachers in Tanzania and how, through the generations, they have responded to a changing policy context. The typology also facilitates comparisons with other studies of teachers in Sub Saharan Africa. In the second section of the chapter, discussion of the typology in the light of Jessop & Penny's study of teacher narratives in The Gambia and KwaZulu-Natal and Welmond's (2002) work in Benin leads to the construction of an identity landscape of Tanzanian teachers. In the third section, the typology is used as a basis from which to draw policy implications.

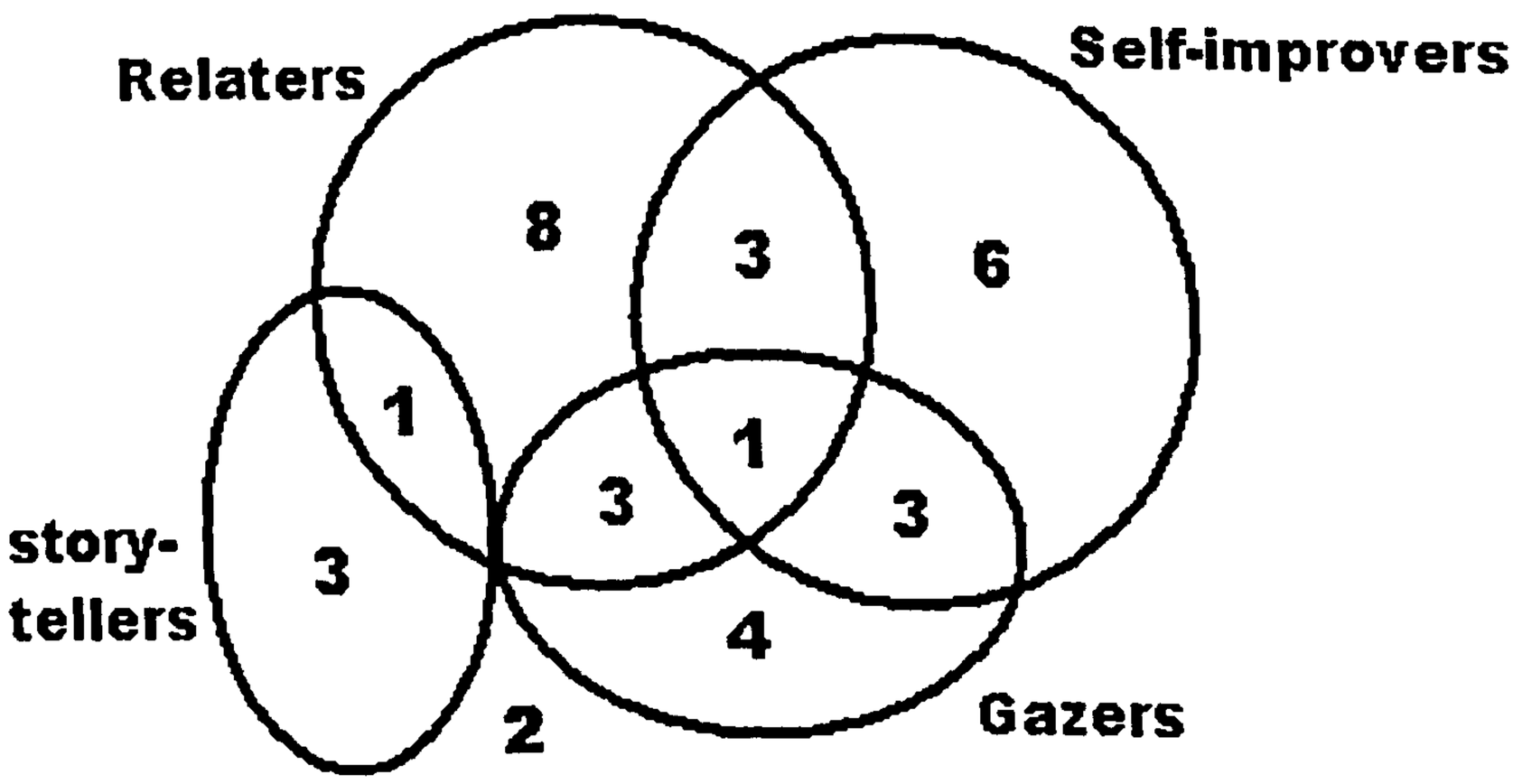
9.1 Teacher typology

9.1.1 The analysis

In describing their work, relations with others and views on educational purpose, informants drew on certain scripts that recurred in different interviews and often appeared in sets (see 3.4.2, p.82-5 for an explanation of script theory). The sets of scripts constructed an identity-type, so that informants may be regarded as presenting themselves, intentionally or otherwise, as a certain type of teacher. It was possible to categorise all but two informants into these categories, with several informants falling into the overlap areas, i.e. they drew on scripts associated with more than one identity type. The two informants, who could not be categorised, were both older men who had been teaching for more than fifteen years in village schools and from whom I did not collect enough information to confidently classify them. This

was in part due to the difficulties in establishing a rapport with and interpreting the speech of informants who, culturally as well as in terms of age and gender, were the most different from myself. These difficulties, however, did not extend to all long service male teachers working in village schools. The numbers of informants in each category is indicated on a Venn diagram in figure 9.1. Only the group of thirty-four teachers with whom I held semi-structured one-to-one interviews are included and not staff of the focus schools or those who I only met through discussion groups. The numbers are only intended to give evidence for the typology and are in no way statistically representative of the whole population of Tanzanian primary school teachers. The Venn Diagram format allows representation of the possibility of drawing on more than one set of scripts. Having categorised the informants in this way, cross-referencing to gender, age and posting revealed how teachers' values are passed down the generations and adapted to the contemporary context and culture in the process.

Fig. 9.1 Venn diagram showing division of one-to-one interviewees into types



Total sample size = 34

9.1.2 The relaters

The eight teachers who fell exclusively into the group I have named '*relaters*' were all female and, with one exception, worked in town schools although two had previously worked in village schools. Relaters gave descriptions of the qualities of a good teacher, teachers who they admired and reasons for liking teaching that drew on scripts referring to their relationship with pupils. They stressed the importance of love for pupils, being close to pupils, conservative use of punishment and understanding pupils' "problems". "Problems" might refer to conceptual obstacles to or physical barriers to learning, such as hunger or poor eyesight:

> A good teacher has a close relationship with her pupils. Because if you have a close relationship with pupils you can help them. You know, when you are teaching someone, s/he does not understand because s/he has a problem. (Long service female teacher, Mkuranga)

> The thing that I liked about that teacher which pleased me was that he loved us children very much, he tried to see the children who did not understand in his class and he tried to explain to that child in his own time. It was his habit not to punish us. (Long service woman teacher, Kibaha)

Most traced their attraction to teaching back to when they were themselves pupils, usually in primary but sometimes in secondary school. They were the most focused on classroom teaching and this tended to cause them to hold the most restricted views of what teaching means, explaining it as enabling pupils to understand the material or to pass school and national examinations. This was most especially true of the younger teachers, who were around five years or less into their teaching careers.

> By the end of the year, my main objective is that they do well in the exam for promotion to the next class so that when they reach S7, they do even better and can enter F1. (Short service female teacher, Kibaha)

Typically, relaters stressed the importance of *ushirikishaji* or 'participation'. Reports of lessons taught were often intended to demonstrate pupil contribution or activity.

The forms pupil activity might take ranged from repetitious chanting to complex group activities such as re-telling a story, orally or in writing.

Relaters talked more about the intrinsic than extrinsic rewards of teaching, giving these as socialising with teachers and pupils or enabling them to be better mothers of their own children. The relationship with the community was unproblematic for relaters, partly because it was not as important to them as it was to other groups. They felt that they were well-known and respected by parents and the local community although this respect would be forfeited if they were not seen to be keeping the school compound smart, teaching children as they should or behaving respectably amongst the community. Where relaters perceived a cultural difference between themselves and children's home contexts, they tended to explain this in terms of conditions of poverty and express sympathy rather than complain of adversary:

> Some their environment at home, you don't know what they ate yesterday or what they will eat today. If children are hungry in class, they don't understand, truly it is difficult. ... Some walk a long way to school, when they arrive at school they are tired. (Long service female teacher, Mkuranga)

9.1.3 The self-improvers

Five of the six individuals, who can be labelled exclusively as self-improvers, were men and all six had qualified as teachers during the nineties. They had in common a desire to "improve themselves" through improving their academic or occupational qualifications, both as a matter of intellectual self-realisation and as a means to achieving promotion or exit into better paid work. If posted near to a town, they might study 'A' levels privately or, if tuition was not available in their location, apply for admission onto professional certified courses. Whilst one young man had spent four out of the seven years since he qualified studying full-time residential courses, it was

more common for these efforts to be met with frustration:

> Personally, I am a just a youth, I want very much to improve myself but I get problems. If I send a letter there to the district, it is not passed on. ... Please look for a sponsor or a penpal for me, who can help me with my life, especially education. (Short service male teacher, Mkuranga)

Compared to the relaters, self-improvers discussed in greater detail the technical and intellectual challenge of teaching methodology but were less concerned with the quality of their relations with pupils and colleagues. They variously mentioned the value of using visual aids, practical demonstrations, tests as learning aids, contextualising material and mixing teaching strategies. Participative strategies, such as 'question and answer' or group work, were mentioned least often by this group and, with two exceptions, their lesson descriptions focussed on what they, as the teacher, did to the exclusion of pupil activity and response. Most adopted older teachers of the same gender as role models whom they aspired to emulate:

> This teacher, I liked him very much because he taught us until we understood and he used various strategies, many. So he never gave up. He could make us laugh but inside the subject he was teaching us. He was a teacher who I hoped I would be like him if I could, but I am not yet able. (Short service male town teacher, Mkuranga)

All but two of the men in the whole group, including overlaps, preferred teaching Mathematics or science to the higher years, perhaps reflecting the status attributed to those subjects. The women had a special curricular interest of language or the S1-2 year groups. They all resolutely avowed the traditional Tanzanian values of *malezi*, likening the teacher-pupil relationship to the parent-child one and placing great emphasis on respectability and their role as "mirrors" to their young charges. They tended to give abstract altruistic motives for teaching, such as "to educate society" or "to help build the nation" that might have been borrowed from teacher training texts.

Most in the group claimed to have chosen teaching themselves, although a few *also* said it had not been a first choice. They were frequently scornful of their employment conditions, a dissatisfaction that both fuelled and was aggravated by their personal

ambitions.

Self-improvers, who worked in stimulating environments, attended in-service activities and felt that they were moving towards their goals, were amongst the most hardworking teachers. They often appeared to enjoy a special relationship with their headteachers, who appreciated their readiness to carry out extra duties, and a few achieved leadership positions, such as 'academic teacher' early in their careers. By contrast, self-improvers posted to rural schools, counted as the unhappiest teachers interviewed and felt estranged from the education system:

> When they make decisions from on top and direct us without knowing how we live, it is a problem. They should first come and see how we live, our environment and the problems that we have. (Mwl. JB)

In addition, some also distanced themselves from the local community, which they regarded as 'unenlightened' (*hawana mwamko*), and blamed the local culture for their pupils' poor academic performance:

> [The parents] forget [their responsibilities] to the extent that when the child returns from school they don't even ask, "What did you study at school?" When they have given him food and he has eaten, they give him responsibilities, to go to herd or scare birds off the farm or to dig a hole for the cows' water. ... Therefore, the parents leave us teachers a very heavy load. (Short service male teacher, Shinyanga)

The group in the overlap between relaters and self-improvers are of particular interest because they are people, who earlier in their careers might have been designated only as self-improvers. They were engaged with the technical challenges of teaching but also appreciated the importance of relationships with pupils. They talked of their work as if they were committed to their profession and identified as teachers. However, this did not necessarily mean that they had given up on ambitions to leave the profession, as illustrated by Mwl. Kibaja, whose narrative is included in chapter six. The oldest member of this group had already acquired a

diploma and was on his way to exit from the profession, although he still talked with enthusiasm about his classroom practice. All had children, had built houses and at least two had projects that generated a second income without demanding their presence during school hours.

9.1.4 Vocation teachers: gazers and story-tellers

The vocation teachers consisted of long service teachers, who had qualified before the mid-eighties, and could be broken down into two subgroups, labelled 'gazers' and 'story-tellers'. I will first describe the characteristics generic to the vocation group and then give more detail on the gazers and story-tellers separately. Members of the vocation group were most likely to give altruistic reasons for entering teaching that were also personal, such as "I wanted to develop children in the same way that I had been developed." They entered teaching during or shortly after a period of rapid expansion, came from humble backgrounds and had experienced 'family problems' in their youth or, in the case of the eldest women, were amongst the first generation of women to have entered teaching. As a consequence, they considered themselves privileged to be teachers.

The vocation group tended to have the broadest understandings of the attributes of 'good teachers' that included diligence, being well-read, caring of pupils and being cooperative with teachers and parents. One teacher, Mwl. Moses Jackson (not his actual name), who taught in the most remote school visited, offered the following list:

> First to like his work; second to apply himself; third, to create ways to teach; then, another, to love children; then, another, a person who likes to receive advice from his fellows; then, regularly uses his time to improve his work or to study. (Long service male village teacher, Shinyanga)

Similarly, they took a broad view of the benefits of a basic education. They viewed education as preparing pupils for a better future in multiple ways, including learning

to read and write; acquiring knowledge about their country; providing an opportunity for the talented few to reach university; equipping village children with general knowledge and habits of hygiene that would enable them to get by in town environments and helping children to develop into the citizens, leaders, parents or teachers of tomorrow:

> Many already know how to read and write, they can read anything anywhere. Another thing, they begin to do business, now business is a subject in primary school [within Vocational Skills]. Health, they know about health, if they are ill they go to hospital, ... Another is, even morals (*ustaarabu*) ... they know what is allowable and what is not. (Long service male teacher, Shinyanga)

The vocation teachers, between them, provided an eclectic list of the rewards of teaching. The intrinsic rewards included socialising with children and colleagues, being "in service" (*ndani ya utumishi*) and seeing children pass exams. As well as opportunities for self-improvement, the extrinsic rewards included job security and geographic flexibility (mentioned by two women whose husbands had been transferred numerous times). Mwl. Henry again exemplifies this group:

> What pleases me? First, all the time I keep fit because we get exercise. We come, we play with the children, do parade exercises (*gwaride*) etcetera. ... Second, I cooperate with my fellows well; and then the children themselves they play and what have you. ... I feel good if my children do well, in the exams they do well, I feel that I am doing my work well. (Long service male teacher, Shinyanga)

One reason for the richness of these teachers' discourse was that they had, over most of a lifetime in teaching, developed individualised and idiosyncratic understandings and approaches. Another reason was that they could draw on discourses that had been privileged at different times during their long careers, as well as historical images of teachers. So for example, Christian village teachers harked back to the missionary era by comparing themselves to priests or catholic sisters on the grounds that they lived in a village, far from their home area, had a modest income but were expected "to be attractive" (*kuvutika*) in their conduct and appearance.

Vocation teachers tended to understand pedagogy in fairly restricted terms as presenting an explanation, assessing pupils' understanding and responding with a repeated or different strategy if pupils had not yet understood. Most especially in Shinyanga Rural, where very little in the way of locally-based in-service training or professional development had been implemented in the last twenty years, they drew on a set of specific strategies that had a long history within Tanzanian primary education, such as drama (sketches) and singing (examples given by a discussion group, Iselemagazi Ward). The chief benefit of their years of experience, however, lay not in imaginative or extended teaching strategies but rather the quality of being in "contact" with (see 8.3.3, p. 251) and responsive to pupils' learning.

As well as an inner inspiration, vocation was experienced as a burden, tying teachers to a difficult lifestyle and demanding work:

> If I say the truth, I just do this work like teaching is a vocation but there is nothing that makes me happy. Truly, us teachers in Tanzania, we just hold on to teaching as if it is a religion (*tunaishikia kimungumungu tu*). (Long service teacher, now working in a town school after many years service in villages in Coast Region Region)

Their sense of vocation derived from faith in the power of education to enrich people's lives, whether they continued with secondary education and found employment, stayed in their home area and survived through the informal economy or, in the case of girls, became mothers shortly after leaving school. The service of 'vocation teachers' presumed reciprocal responsibilities of society and government to facilitate teachers' work by providing them with material security and offering respect. Hence, this group were concerned that lack of appreciation, a low standard of living and the necessity of looking for a second income undermined their ability to carry out difficult work in demanding conditions.

Gazers

The 'gazers' remembered 'gazing' at their own teachers when they were at primary school and being attracted to the 'good life' teaching appeared to offer:

> When I was a student, there were some teachers I used to gaze at them, the way they were teaching, the way they were living. (Long service male village teacher, Shinyanga)
>
> When I was in S5, middle school, I met female teachers for the first time. From seeing that they were in a good situation, they looked good, I hoped that I would become a teacher. (Long service female village teacher, Shinyanga)

These early impressions caused 'gazers' to place great importance on smart appearance. They believed that as teachers work for the state and act as local representatives of government, it is the state's responsibility to ensure they are materially and physically able to carry out their duties. So, for example, they should be able to afford presentable clothing and live in permanent concrete houses, with roofs that do not leak and cupboards where folded clothes could be stored. Their childhood images of 'teacher' only made their disappointment more bitter when they found their lifestyle falling short of expectations and they claimed this impaired their ability to be an 'attractive example' for the community.

Although their views of educational benefits were broad there was a tendency amongst gazers to emphasise the cultural benefits of education, such as learning about hygiene, knowing how to take care of younger siblings and send sick relatives for medical treatment. They also placed great importance on moral or ethical behaviour to the point that their professional identity as teachers was synonymous with a social identity as respectable citizens:

> A good teacher should have characteristics that cannot put her to shame. Characteristics such that people cannot ask themselves, "Why is she like this?" A good teacher is required to be a person who appears to have a good personality, actions, even language. (Long service female teacher, Shinyanga)

A small subgroup of the gazers identified more strongly than most as civil servants and regarded themselves as 'village intellectuals' (*wataalamu*), a role which involved keeping up to date with current affairs and explaining matters related to state bureaucracy and formal education to the community:

> What attracted me most was that as a teacher I would continually be learning new things, I would be studying all the time. ... I learn, new things, which are happening. I might hear in the political news that a certain country has started something new. Or science, something new in science has been discovered. (Long service teacher, Shinyanga)
>
> The villagers take the teacher as the village expert on all matters relating to education. (Long service male teacher, Shinyanga)

Story-tellers

The story-tellers related the story of their entry into teaching, each as remarkable as Makonde's story in chapter six. Two were orphans and a third, Mwl. Jackson, came from a peasant background and was profoundly moved by his own experience of learning to read. The fourth one was unique in rejecting a more prestigious career in favour of teaching because of the high degree of responsibility he felt towards his large extended family. As a teacher, he was able to secure a position close to his home area and ensure his nieces and nephews received an education. All the story-tellers considered themselves personally fortunate to have had an opportunity to become a teacher and this heightened their sense of responsibility to youth and children. They were more completely identified with teaching than any group, going beyond the integration of profesional and social identity that they shared with the gazers, to an almost complete integration of their professional and personal identity.

9.1.5 Intergenerational movement in teacher identity and policy context

Weber & Mitchell (1995:6) observe that "images of the present are layered with

images of the past". Vocation teachers' discourse carries a cross-generational sediment of ideas. Their self-perception as priest-like figures may be traced back to the colonial era when most primary schools (as distinct from bush schools) were sponsored by a foreign mission. Foreign missionaries, if not local teachers, saw the promotion of literacy as supporting their evangelistic and civilising mission. This vision has been inherited not only by local teachers but international agencies, such as UNESCO, whose early literature had a biblical ring to it (UNESCO, 1947). More recently, some of the uncritical rhetoric to emerge from the EFA campaign recalls the evangelical zeal of its historical roots in philanthropy and missionary work. Teachers, however, have moulded the religious roots of their profession into a rationale for identification with their work that goes beyond rhetoric, as they claim for themselves the attractive strangeness and dedication to duty associated with religious vocations. Their 'sending organisation' is the state so that an identity as civil servants is layered onto that of 'vocational teachers'. The role of civil servant is interpreted in the light of the socialist philosophies that dominated when older teachers entered 'service', which promised those "in service" a basic level of social security. The dual heritage of missionaries and socialism have contributed towards a holistic vision not only of professional identity but also of educational purpose. Yet, the broad and diverse benefits of basic education are perceived as being achieved through a set of performance pedagogies, which equip pupils with the basic skills and knowledge that are sufficient to unlock the potential benefits of citizenship in a modern state. The creativity and initiative to realise those opportunities is regarded as residing within young people and not learnt in school. It should be remembered that teachers themselves do not attribute their self-perceptions and educational values to historical traditions but to their present-day experienced reality of working in peasant

communities. In other words, images of 'teacher' from the past persist into the present because teachers perceive them to still be relevant.

Self-improvers and the younger relaters have, to an extent, inherited the values of vocation teachers. Smart appearance is still integral to their understanding of what a teacher is, although they are more likely to relate this to their role as a guide for pupils than to their status within the community. They do not seem to wish for or believe they are deserving of a special status in the community, although they may in rural areas complain of alienation. However, they live in a world where the individualist logic of neo-liberalism is taking over from socialist paternalism. Distanced from the rhetoric of socialism and religious-like dedication, younger teachers look for personal gratification from teaching and find this within the classroom and the equivalent of the English staffroom but not within the local community. The relaters find reward in their relations with children and colleagues, whilst the self-improvers find a more tenuous reward in the opportunity for pedagogical learning and for some, the opportunity of promotion within the education system. The social and professional identities of younger teachers are relatively detached compared to previous generations, although not compared to English teachers. In part, this may be attributed to their relative youth. Early career teachers in England (Sikes, 1985; Nias, 1989) and Switzerland (Huberman, 1993) have also been found to focus on subject matter and have a more fragile commitment to teaching. It may also reflect the growing but by no means exclusive influence of development agencies over education discourse within Tanzania. This influence is exercised both through participation in centralised policy-making (Kiernan, 1995; Buchert, 1997) and through localised projects that target pedagogic improvement.

One of the cumulative products of their participation is the promotion of a rationalist apolitical view of pedagogical improvement as a value-neutral logistical and technical challenge. Nonetheless, the values of *malezi*, described in chapter seven, are deeply entrenched and even young teachers express a commitment to these.

9.2 Discussion of typology: towards policy implications

In this section, I start by summarising two models for teacher identity, drawn up with respect to primary educators in Sub Saharan Africa. The first is Jessop & Penny's (1998) "narrative frames" for rural primary school teachers in The Gambia and KwaZulu-Natal and the second is Welmond's "teacher identity landscape" for Beninese primary teachers. Discussing the typology above with reference to these models leads to the construction of an identity landscape for Tanzanian teachers, which draws on Bernstein's formulation of performance and competence pedagogic modes and Osborn, Broadfoot & McNess's (2000) application of these to teacher professionalism.

9.2.1 Jessop & Penny's (1998) narrative frames

Jessop & Penny used a grounded theory approach to analyse teacher "narratives" collected in two separate projects, one concerning rural primary teachers in The Gambia and the other in the Midlands region of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. They identified two "frames" within their collected "narratives", which they labelled the instrumental and relational frame. They went on to postulate the characteristics of a "missing frame", absent from rural teachers' discourse. Within the instrumental frame teaching was regarded as a transmission process and school problems were externalised, being located in the realm of resources or community breakdown (by South African teachers) to the virtual exclusion of discussion of the curriculum and pedagogy (Jessop & Penny, 1998:397). Gambian teachers, however, like the

Tanzanian 'vocation teachers', saw the apparently unproblematic transfer of knowledge to pupils as leading to a broad range of benefits:

> [A] teacher who described good teaching as 'to install knowledge to pupils' heads' went on to qualify this by reasoning that this was 'so that you can be able to confront all the problems which are around us'. (Jessop & Penny, 1998:397)

Jessop & Penny also found an associated instrumentalist view of the rewards of teaching, so that salary and other material incentives were key motivating factors for entering teaching and a great source of disgruntlement once within the profession (Jessop & Penny, 1998:398), not dissimilar to the pattern found amongst the 'gazers'.

They also identified another discourse that centred around the relational aspects of teaching:

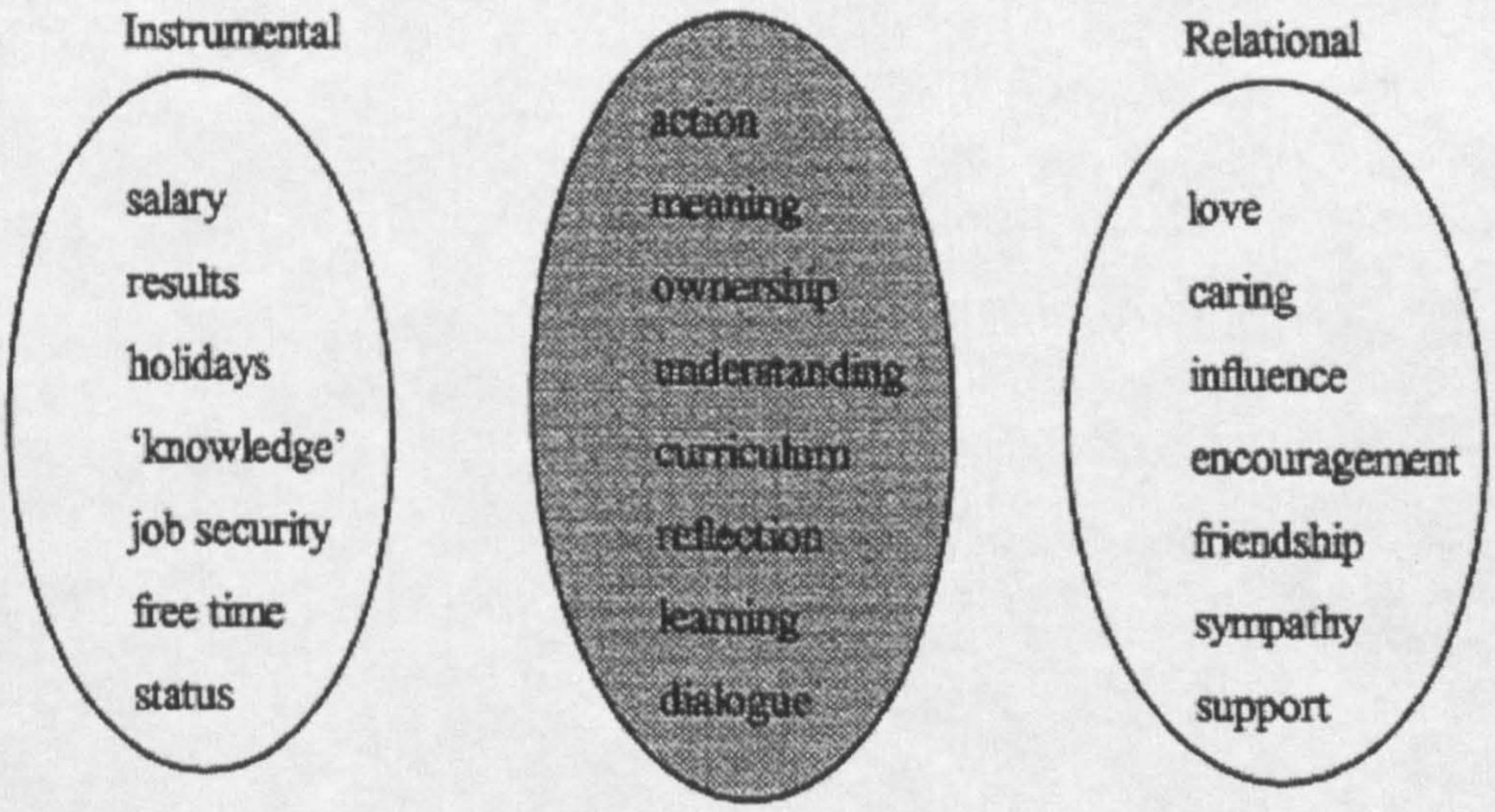
> Relational teachers stressed a view of learning as an active process 'where you must communicate with the child, where the children must be more active than the teacher, not like our traditional ways where the teacher would stand and teach and teach until you became drowsy'. (Jessop & Penny, 1998:398)

Relational teachers viewed education as having a moral basis, which involved caring for the wider community, treating children with dignity and fairness, being professionally accountable and a view of themselves as an example for learners. The rewards of teaching were seen as being founded within loving, nurturing and caring relationships with pupils.

Jessop & Penny were concerned that the presence of 'love' in the vocabulary of their informants suggested the lack of a professional vocabulary for talking about pedagogy (Jessop & Penny, 1998:398-9). They drew on Andy Hargreaves' (1994) argument that a pre-occupation with care and interpersonal relationships in England and America is associated with an absence of interest in pedagogy and educational theory. However, Tanzanian teachers' conceptualisation of *malezi*, described in chapter seven, went beyond brandishing words like 'love' and 'sympathy' to

incorporate the social and moral dimensions Hargreaves found lacking in nurturing care (1994:145-7). Hedges (2002:360), in his study of newly qualified teachers in Ghana, also found a set of 'relational' discourses concerned with care, socialising children and being a role model. Unlike Jessop & Penny, he did not interpret this as suggestive of a lack of professionalism but rather as indicating a notion of professional culture as serving local communities. Hedges' and my own interpretation both constitute a plea to recognise the models of teacher professionalism that have evolved within African contexts.

Fig. 9.2 Oval diagram, showing the 'missing frame' in the gap between instrumental and relational. (Jessop & Penny, 1998:400)



Between an emphasis on meaningful teacher-pupil relations on one hand and the implicit denial of these within the instrumentalist frame, Jessop & Penny highlighted a gap or 'missing frame' in teachers' discourse (see fig. 9.2). This concerned the process of making meaning from the curriculum and reflection on methodology or the meaning of knowledge within syllabi and textbooks. They took the absence of this frame to indicate an effective abdication by teachers of any responsibility for exercising agency over what they taught, to whom, how and for what reason (Jessop

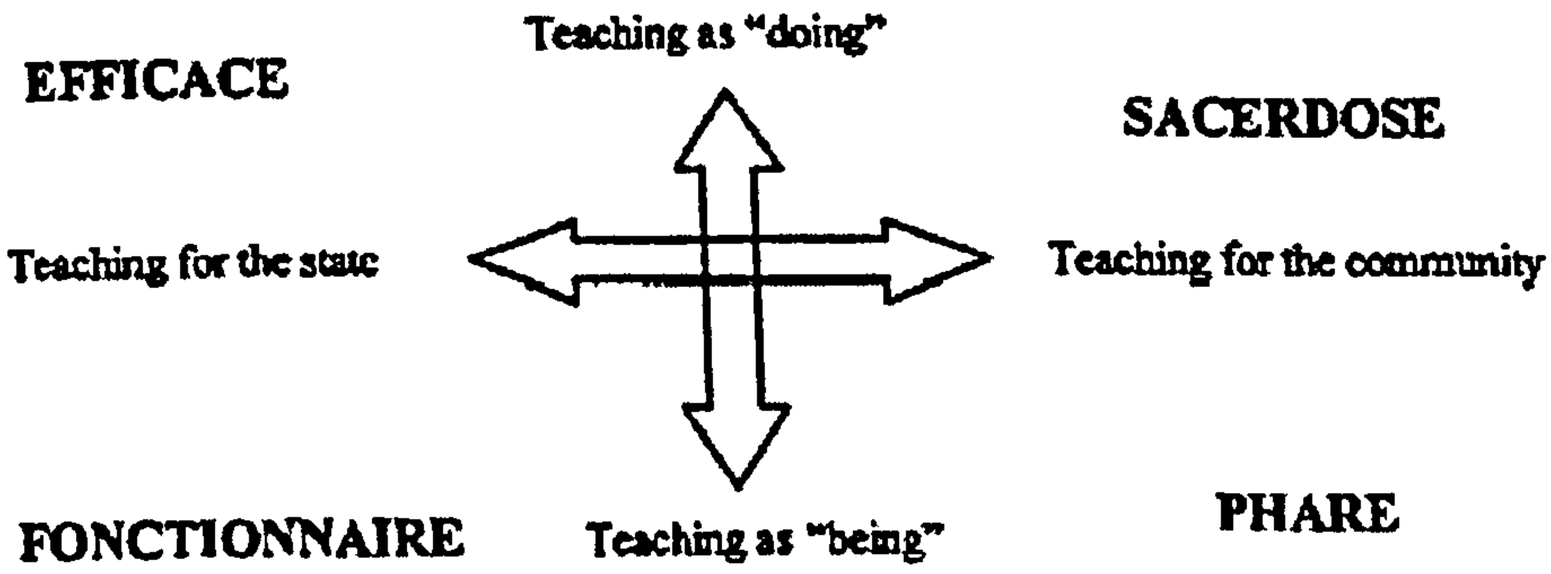
& Penny, 1998:399). Whilst accepting of the curriculum, Tanzanian teachers did appear to have a greater interest in the process of teaching than Jessop & Penny found to be the case in The Gambia or KwaZulu-Natal. This may be due to a tradition of seminars and discussion within Wards that had been practiced in the past and was still active in Kibaha district and, to a lesser extent, in Mkuranga and Shinyanga town as well as more recently established donor-financed projects. It could equally well be explained by differing research methodologies and methods. Despite the detail and confidence with which *some* Tanzanian teachers were able to talk about the teaching process, the transmission mode that Jessop & Penny identify with the instrumental frame was observed to dominate (discussed in chapter eight). For self-improvers, a concern with extrinsic rewards could act as a motivation to reflect on classroom practice, if this was thought to improve chances of promotion, suggesting that instrumentalism with respect to career need not be tied to instrumentalism in the classroom.

9.2.2 Welmond's (2002) teacher identity landscape

In individual and group interviews with teachers and education managers in Benin, Welmond found that responses to questions about teacher roles and responsibilities could be mapped onto two axes of orientation. Teaching as being, meaning that teachers are defined by their qualifications and their possession of knowledge, was ranged against teaching as doing, meaning they are defined by the active rendering of their skills and knowledge. Along the second axis teaching for the state was opposed to teaching to the community (see fig. 9.3). The former represented a view of teachers as narrowly accountable to the objectives of the government's education project or to the specific terms of contract. The latter represented teachers as responsible to local communities and to the children in their classroom. This second

dimension echoes the distinction Tanzanian teachers made between the responsibilities of *malezi* (care) and *kitaaluma* (academic duties). However, these elements were viewed as complementary rather than oppositional in Tanzania. This is because the teaching profession in Tanzania does not share the unique political and cultural history Welmond describes for Benin. It may also be due to the influence of the English model of teacher professionalism in Tanzania (see section 7.1.2, p. 199-201).

Fig. 9.3 The shape of the Beninese teacher-identity landscape, Welmond (2002:53)



Welmond located four stereotypical images of teachers onto this two-dimensional landscape (see fig. 9.3). The teacher as *phare* (beacon), rather like Tanzanian *wataalamu*, is a vessel of special knowledge available as a conduit between the community and the outside world. However, whilst *phare* teachers convey knowledge in the classroom not so much through the act of teaching as their presence, Tanzanian *wataalamu* were able to talk about the processes by which they imparted knowledge to pupils. They were amongst the few who admitted that when children do not learn the fault is not always that of the pupils or his/her home environment but could lie with an ineffective teacher or inappropriate curriculum. Teacher as *fonctionnaire* (civil servant) is fundamentally a civil servant who happens to teach. *Fonctionnaires* have privileged access to a host of peripheral entitlements,

many of dubious legality, and can, if properly compensated, serve as a conduit between their communities and government. This may be paralleled to Tanzanian teachers' identity as civil servants, which leads them to regard allowances, for example to cover the cost of transfer to a new posting or visits home, as a right. The Tanzanian civil servant, however, appears to have more modest and less complex expectations than the Beninese *fonctionnaire.*

The *sacerdoce* (dedicated teacher) may be likened to the gazers:

> The teacher is a self-sacrificing, hard-working good person who is a surrogate parent, a moral example, and a key aid to the locality at which he or she is deployed. ... . A key notion for such *sacerdotal* teachers is that they will receive *considération* from the community for their efforts. *Considération* can include respect and a thank you but usually also has tangible manifestations in gifts. (Welmond, 2002:54)

Tanzanian teachers, however, were not so concerned with privilege and hence, did not expect the appreciation they so valued to be expressed with gifts. Lastly, Welmond describes the *efficace* (efficient teacher) as being oriented by a restricted view of educational purpose similar to that reported by many relaters but without the added dimension of an appreciation of relations within the school:

> Here, the teacher's responsibility is essentially to ensure that students pass the final exam in order to continue on to subsequent grades, particularly to secondary schools. No particular benefits accrue to the teacher as a consequence of this. (Welmond, 2002:54)

9.2.3 Teacher identity map for Tanzania

Tanzanian vocation teachers may be likened to English humanist teachers in their integration of personal and professional identity and both may be positioned in the lower half of Welmond's teacher identity landscape, where teaching is defined as being. However, both also see themselves as active in the classroom, the former in a leadership and the latter in a facilitative role, and the vocation teachers also see themselves as active in the community. Hence, for Tanzania and England at least, it

is more appropriate to replace "teaching as being" with the conflation of being and doing. By contrast, the 'self-improvers' and what Ball (1999) calls 'reform teachers' in England, detach being from doing by separating out their personal and professional identity. Vocation teachers share some of the principal features of the competence model of professionalism drawn up by Osborn, Broadfoot & McNess (2000:236, or see table 4.1), i.e. collegial culture with emphasis on cooperation, covenant based on commitment to education and sense of moral responsibility to pupils. At the same time, however, they practice what Bernstein described as a performance pedagogy viewing themselves as instructors and evaluators rather than facilitators. A restricted view of educational process is twinned with an extended view of educational purpose.

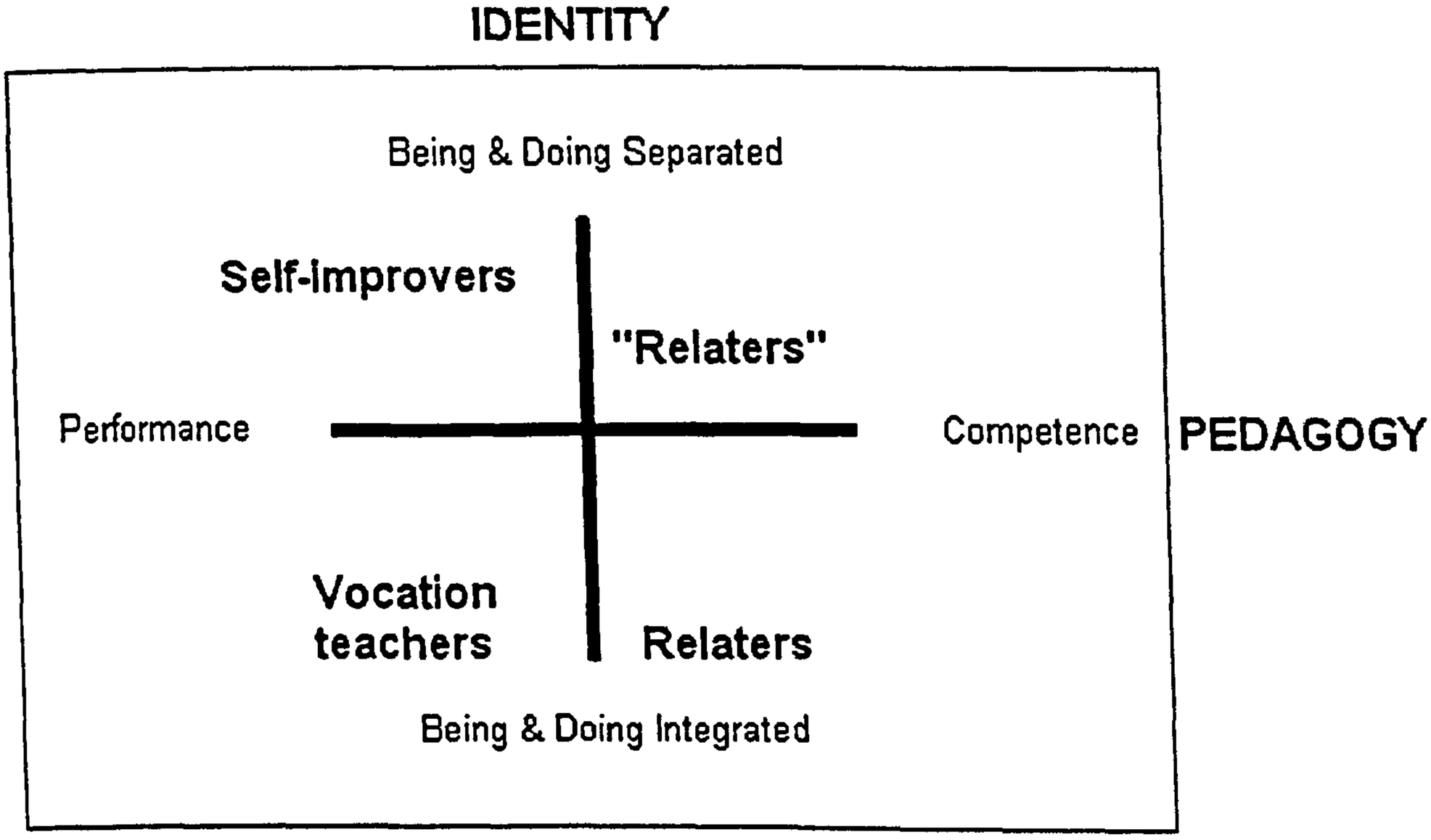
By contrast, the relaters claim an interest in aspects of competence pedagogy, whilst demonstrating a restricted understanding of educational purpose as following the syllabus and preparing children for examination success. Their relational view of children pins them down in the present, so that there is what Jackson (1968/1990:147), referring to English teachers, called a "here-and-nowness" quality to their talk. Bernstein associated competence pedagogies with a flexible emphasis on present experience. Lacking in flexibility, however, relaters' absorption in the immediate and present paradoxically draws them into an unreflective acceptance of performance goals for education. This is reinforced by their identification with parents' ambitions for their children to enter secondary school. Relaters apparently integrate their personal and professional identities through the exercise of compassion in their relations with pupils and friendship in their relations with colleagues. However, it was not clear in all cases, whether the relaters' discourse

was used communicatively, to described a teacher's own self-image, or whether it was used strategically or normatively to conform to an imagined ideal of a "good teacher", which would be acceptable to a Westerner. For this reason on the map of the Tanzanian teacher identity landscape below relaters appear twice, once in quotation marks to indicate those, who used a relational discourse strategically or unreflectively.

Self-improvers, despite their desire to improve their pedagogy, understand teaching in almost identical terms to Bernstein's performance mode. They separate out their personal identity and professional identity, by holding on to ambitions to leave primary school teaching. However, their plans for exit imply an internalisation of a performance value-system as they seek to climb the educational ladder by studying for academic qualifications. Many are struggling with a sense of failure, as illustrated by Mwl. JB, which may add further to any feelings of estrangement (Bernstein, 1975:45-6). In addition, their identification as a role model for their students and desire to emulate those of their own teachers, who they take as role models, also implies a degree of personal identification with teaching. Hence, whilst self-improvers may not be committed to teaching they accept absolutely the value-system of the performance pedagogic mode, which dominates Tanzanian secondary schools. Hence, they both practice a performance pedagogy and adopt a performance mode of professionalism, which resembles that drawn up by Osborn, Broadfoot & McNess (2000:236). This may explain why they are attracted towards teaching the higher levels of primary, where the performance mode is more dominant.

On the basis of the discussion so far in this section, a teacher identity map for Tanzanian teachers would plot how teachers viewed their personal and professional identity (being and doing) against the type of pedagogy, performance or competence, that they believe to constitute good practice (see fig. 9.4).

Fig. 9.4 Tanzania teacher identity map



9.3 Policy implications ...

9.3.1 ... for relaters

As a sizable body of teachers actively seeking to identify themselves as *washirikishaji* (participative practitioners), the majority of whom are women, the relaters should be regarded by policy-makers as potential allies in establishing norms of constructive teacher-pupil relations and combating abusive teacher misconduct, especially gendered abuse of girls. However there appear to be barriers to female relaters' influence on school culture. Educational officials and headteachers share an opinion that women are more likely than men to become disengaged from their

work, as they are distracted by time and energy demands at home. (Interestingly, Nias noticed a similar trend in England, which she did not attribute to women's domestic roles, 1989). It is possible that in some cases relaters cope with multiple demands by focussing on their classroom, as some teachers have been found to do in England (Sikes, 1985; Osborn, 1996a), and this looks to managers like withdrawal from other aspects of school life. Another reason for not living up to their claimed ideals may be that those who value relations are most vulnerable to weak collegial cultures and ineffective management. Most of the teachers at Isega would fall into the relaters category. The headteacher boasted that the dramatic improvement of the school under his headship had been achieved with a staff that by-and-large pre-dated his arrival. He surmised that a group of competent teachers had become demoralised under corrupt and ineffective leadership. Hence, strong collegial cultures and ethical leadership can act to retain or re-engage the interest of relaters in their work. An appropriate policy aim, therefore, would be to create a systemic culture that values the role of relations within learning and management and to move more women into management positions. This last is already a policy aim for Tanzanian public services as a means to promote gender equity.

9.3.2 ... for self-improvers

The self-improvers are the group that should concern policy-makers the most. Because they are predominantly male they are the most likely to be posted to remote schools but at the same time their youth, their secondary education and impatience are ill-suited to a career on the sidelines of the education system. They are at once rooted in the value system of *malezi* and at the same time the most receptive to the discourse of performative professionalism. Hence, they may be considered as being at the vanguard of defining a set of ethics for Tanzanian teachers that is continuous

with the rich tradition of educational values, bequeathed by the 'gazers' and 'storytellers' but adapted to changes in the contractual relationship with their employer. At the same time, there is a real risk that perception of estrangement from the formal education system will undermine their ethical commitments. Whilst many of the headteachers and education administrators of tomorrow are likely to be drawn from this group, others are heading for early exit and many, frustrated in their aspirations to move up or out, are likely to follow in the footsteps of earlier generations of secondary educated village teachers, who were vulnerable to alcoholism and depression (information from Angeline Majinge, former DEO).

Yet, relatively simple measures, effectively implemented, could contribute positively to identity formation in this group. Hedges (2002) concluded in his study of newly qualified teachers in Ghana that interaction with bureaucracy influenced their occupational identity as a formative stage in their careers. In this study, young teachers were the most susceptible to a sense of estrangement from administration and government. So, the late payment of first salary or the first pay-rise, awarded after three years in service, had a far greater impact on a teacher's morale than delayed payments later in a teachers' career. Hence, ensuring that salaries are paid promptly to early career teachers is likely to be effective in improving retention and contributing towards positive models of teacher identity that will be perpetuated into the future. Well-designed induction programmes aimed at alleviating the isolation of rural postings and making professional development activities available to recently qualified teachers are also likely to help. Such programmes may be especially beneficial both in the short and long term if implemented now, as recruitment is currently being expanded and in 2003 initial training was contracted into one year,

rather than two, to meet the demands of UPE. Vocation teachers have already demonstrated how the values of one generation, disproportionately represented within the teaching profession because they were recruited at a time of intense expansion, continue to strongly influence occupational culture for the next two or three decades.

9.3.3 ... for vocation teachers

The 'vocation' teachers' holistic educational values and complex identities contrast to the stereotypic image of grade B teachers as under-qualified, out-of-date, prone to alcoholism or "to relax" (implying excessive absenteeism and general unprofessionalism). Undoubtedly, the reason for this positive finding partly lies in a sampling strategy that deliberately sought out respected teachers. It is possible that the conflict between teachers' role-model identity and their perceptions of their social status provokes opposing responses from teachers. Nias (1989) observed that the "inclusive" nature of primary school teaching prompted English teachers to invest their self-identity in their work. In Tanzania, the direction of identity transfer is reversed by the extension of teachers' occupational identity into the local community. The advantage of this is that individuals are motivated to perform their work well in order to preserve the integrity of their social and self-identity, despite unsatisfactory employment conditions. The disadvantage is that other individuals perceive their conflated professional and social identity to already be undermined by low social status to the extent that it makes little difference if they sabotage it further by misconduct. Clearly this latter group must be called to account but their failings should not be interpreted as indicative of the inadequacy of under-qualified teachers in general. The grade B category includes many of Tanzania's most experienced, dedicated and least demoralised teachers. As long as secondary enrolment ratios

remain well below 10% and the language of instruction at secondary is different to that for primary, the option of recruiting primary school leavers should not be rejected outright. Their initial training, however, should be both academically and professionally thorough, including revision of the content of S5-7 syllabus but not including O level examinations in English. They may be deployed to teach the first four years of primary and, where they exist, pre-school classes and should not be expected to teach English. This approach is supported by Daun's (1997) research in Guinea-Bissau, where she found that the results of a large-scale survey suggested that female teachers without a secondary education were more effective with the lower years then their more highly qualified colleagues.

9.4 Summary

In this chapter, I have presented a typology for Tanzanian primary school teacher identity that emerged from analysis of the interview data and cuts across the themes dealt with in chapters six to eight. By discussing this together with Jessop & Penny's (1998) formulation of narrative frames and Welmond's (2002) teacher identity landscape, I have arrived at a map of Tanzanian teacher identity landscape, on which identity is plotted against pedagogic practice. The map has been defined with reference to conceptualisations of performance and competence as both a pedagogic and professional mode, building on the theorising of Osborn, Broadfoot & McNess (2000). The typology has also been used to draw out policy implications with respect to each of the teacher types. In the next and final chapter, I bring together conclusions drawn from preceding chapters to postulate what a Tanzanian version of the performance and competence mode might look like. I also reflect on the methodological approach taken in this study and whether a 'two-way conversation' has, in fact, been achieved.

Chapter 10: Conclusion

10.0 Introduction

This last chapter pulls together and summarises the theoretical conclusions and policy implications given towards the end of each of chapters six to nine and stemming from discussion of the findings in those chapters. The first section shows how the conclusions have addressed the research objectives set out in the first chapter. The objectives are used as sub-headings to organise the section. The second section argues the usefulness of the project by summarising some policy implications. It is explained why the thesis' findings will be of most interest to international educationalists of Western origins, who are working in African countries. The third section reflects on the strengths and limitations of the work, including reflection on the 'conversation model' for research, methods used and the role of the researcher. The fourth section suggests future directions for research on teachers in Tanzania and the potential of comparative research to give insight into education reform in England. In the spirit of the non-essentialist model for knowledge laid out in chapter two, the last word is deferred.

10.1 Summary of Theoretical Conclusions

Objective 1: to investigate models of primary teacher identity in England through a review of literature and relate these to the historical, cultural and political context of primary education in England

Chapter five was the product of a desktop study of literature on primary school teachers in England. It argued that from the nineteenth century onwards, mass education in England has been understood in terms of the two conflicting ideologies of technical rationalism and humanism. It traced the intensifying interpenetration of technical rationalism's domain of state governance and humanism's domain of self-governance, historically in the form of pastoral bureaucracy and currently in that of

advanced liberalism. Technical rationalism tends to support the practice of performance pedagogies and models of professionalism, which foster individualist understandings of educational success. Humanist values find their expression within the practice of competence pedagogies and associated competence models of teacher professionalism, which view education as a personal project. Organisational contexts, in which an emphasis is placed on performing to standards or which constrain spontaneity and informal collaboration, tend to select for the performance mode. Competence practice is supported by organisational and systemic contexts that facilitate horizontal collaborations and allow teachers considerable professional autonomy. The competence mode depends on a well-resourced system, as it is relatively expensive both in terms of the financial burden it places on educational providers and hidden time demands on teachers, who require an extended training.

English primary education's movement between the poles of performance and competence illustrates these contextual dependencies. During the sixties, professional autonomy with respect to curriculum together with resource improvements, including lengthening teacher education, enabled professionals to practice more within the competence mode. The curtailment of professional autonomy in the eighties and nineties, by central government's imposition of standards for measuring teacher accountability and pupil achievement, has precipitated the partial return to a performance mode, albeit of a different form to that practiced before the second world war. Although teachers have in the past tended to lay claim to an humanist identity, their practice has always been a balance between the technical rationalist demands of government and their ideals of personalised education. Hence, performance and competence modes represent not so much an

oppositional schism in educational values as a pallet, from which different colours are mixed into intermediate shades and applied variously to different areas of the primary education landscape.

Objective 2: to listen to and authentically represent Tanzanian primary school teachers' reported beliefs regarding the education and up-bringing of children and their perceptions of their responsibilities and relations to others;

Objective 3: to use case study and narrative techniques to provide 'thick' description of local context and relate Tanzanian primary teachers' perceptions to their material, systemic and social contexts;

Chapter seven presented a 'corporate self-image' for Tanzanian primary teachers in the form of their perceptions of their relations and responsibilities to others. It showed how, like English teachers, they separate out the social/affective and professional/academic aspects of their work. They view the former as being rooted in societal values relating to adults' shared responsibility towards the upbringing of children. They accept the government's prerogative to define their duties with respect to the latter, including curriculum design. This acceptance of government leadership in education, however, only heightens disappointment and blame when the government is seen to let teachers down by failing to meet its contractual obligations with respect to pay and provision of resources to schools. Teachers' collective grievance has now become integral to a negative 'corporate self-image' as undervalued and unappreciated. This, however, stands alongside a more positive collective self-image as 'second parents' towards children and respectable community members, which are derived from generic social values.

According to the conceptualisation of identity in section 2.3.3 (pp. 44-5), occupational identity is the contested product of ongoing negotiation between different individuals and groups within teaching. Chapters six and nine reveal plurality and difference

within Tanzanian teacher identity. The narratives in chapter six showed how three very different teachers reconcile their personal and professional self-identity, including their response to the overwhelmingly negative collective identity of teachers. The narratives serve to add detail to the issue of salary by illustrating how readiness to identify with teaching depends on the extent to which it is perceived to meet personal aspirations. In a context of economic scarcity the modest ambition to provide for family acquires added urgency, even for relatively well-off people, like Mwl. Kibaja. This can be a reason to commit to teaching as well as dissatisfaction because, despite discrepancies in salary payment, teaching still offers a relative secure income. Chapter nine condensed the findings from earlier chapters into a typology of Tanzanian teacher identity that incorporated educational values, practice and professional self-image. Presenting the findings in this way, clearly shows '*différance*', i.e. changes over time as successive generations negotiate their identity against a changing social and political context. It also aided theoretical discussion in relation to other studies of Sub Saharan African teachers, leading to the construction of an 'identity map' with two axes of performance versus competence pedagogies and separation versus integration of being and doing. The integration of being and doing, or personal and professional identities would appear to be a feature of a competence mode of professionalism. However, a group of older teachers, the 'vocation' teachers had an extended view of their role as teachers and of the benefits of a basic education, whilst practicing restricted performance modes of pedagogy in the classroom. This finding does not seem so anomalous when placed alongside the account of the school day in the case study (section 4.3, pp. 126-9). The school day starts with a set of 'rituals' carrying not-so-hidden cultural messages concerning cleanliness, time-keeping and national patriotism. Neither is an extended view of

educational purpose at odds with the broad objectives of an extremely ambitious national curriculum (discussed in section 4.1.3, pp. 108-11).

Objective 4: to draw comparisons with primary teacher identity in England, treating each as contextually-situated and hence arrive at theoretical conclusions on the relationship between teacher identity and context as well as policy implications for both Tanzania and England.

The lessons described in chapter eight certainly appear to support the argument that contexts of scarcity select for the performance mode. However, the description of systemic and school context in chapter four shows how scarcity generates competition, most especially competition for places at the next educational level. In England, performance modes have been observed to be on the rise in the wake of reforms, which have also manufactured competition between schools. Comparing these two very different countries, suggests that competition and not just scarcity selects for the performance mode. England only need to look to its former colonies in Africa and other parts of the Commonwealth to the see that uncurbed competition impoverishes educational experience. Unfortunately, it is commonly assumed that more affluent nations have little to learn from low-income ones.

Countless studies carried out throughout Anglophone Sub Saharan Africa point towards the total dominance of transmission mode pedagogies. However, a small number of studies, which have sought out teachers' understandings of educational processes, have unveiled a more complex picture (e.g. Jessop & Penny, 1998; Akyeampong *et al.*, 1999; Croft, 2002). This research project, also, has arrived at a multi-dimensional account of teachers' conceptualisation of their work and occupational identity, captured in the typology and 'identity landscape' presented in chapter nine. It has also highlighted three reasons for the apparent contradiction

between teachers' restricted practice and their extended constructions of their identity. The first and most obvious is a context of scarcity, the well-charted conditions of shortages of books, an under-qualified and increasingly inexperienced teaching force and large class-sizes. Along with scarcity comes inexorable competition that, structurally and culturally embedded, reduces teachers' and parents' understanding of education as preparation for adulthood to a narrow focus on examination success. The second reason lies in how identity is understood. Teachers' separation of the social/affective and professional/academic domains makes it easier for some to distance what they do in the classroom from their moral and ethical beliefs regarding the upbringing of children. The organisation of primary education also facilitates the de-personalisation of teaching by moving all, except S1 and S2, teachers between classes, limiting opportunities for teachers to develop interpersonal relations with their pupils.

The third reason lies outside of teachers and the Tanzanian education system. It resides in Western eyes that do the observing and is a consequence of an assumption of *personalisation* as good practice. In Tanzania, as in England, there is a tension between a set of broadly humanist values and a set of instrumentalist values. The instrumentalist values are associated with an immediately and perhaps universally recognisable performance mode of pedagogy and teacher professionalism, very similar to that of England, especially as it was practiced in the past. The humanist values may likewise be related to what might be called a competence mode of professionalism but one that looks different from the English competence mode and hence is not always recognised by English-speaking Western experts. Table 10.1 sets out some contrasting features of the Tanzanian

performance and competence mode of teacher professionalism and in so doing, summarises findings of the fieldwork in Tanzania. The performance mode in both countries may be described as individualist, emphasising as it does individual performance and progression. The English competence mode stresses personalisation. The understanding of individualisation and personalisation used here are derived from a distinction drawn by Bernstein (1975:121-123). Individualisation is oriented chiefly to material well-being so that education is viewed as a means to secure a specialised economic role in adulthood. Personalisation adds a psychological element to well-being and hence, education is *also* valued as a means of 'self-realisation' and securing a specialised cultural role. In Africa, the personal is inseparable from the social, as implied in a saying common across Southern Africa, "I am because we are". This saying is often taken to illustrate a contrasting ontology to Western individualism. Individualism, as defined by Bernstein, I believe, is far from being the preserve of Western culture and may even be exaggerated by contexts of scarcity. The privileging of personalisation and interpersonal relationships within education, however, has been observed in comparative studies to be particular to Anglophonic Western countries and different from the emphasis on socialisation in other European and also East Asian countries (e.g. Tobin *et al.*, 1989; Spindler & Spindler, 1993; Alexander, 2000; Osborn *et al.*, 2003).

More like these other countries, the competence mode in Tanzania places greater emphasis on learning to be and do with others than on the realisation of innate but hidden competencies of a single person, although both affective objectives were recognised by teachers. This means that competence pedagogies make greater use

of group activities, such as debate or improvised drama, than personalised activities, such as individual projects. It is also the basis for differences between the Tanzanian and English competence mode of professionalism. Both view education as a personal project but in Tanzania the child is viewed as belonging to a family, community and nation, to which he or she is expected to make a constructive contribution. In both countries, the competence mode of professionalism is based on a covenant of trust, which hinges around teachers' moral sense of responsibility towards children. However, whilst in England, teachers tend to assume responsibility personally, Tanzanian teachers regard it as shared with colleagues, parents and government. Both versions of competence have their weaknesses. In chapter five, it was argued that the emphasis on personal responsibility and inter-personal relations in England causes some teachers to have unrealistic expectations of themselves, which in turn leads to feelings of guilt and high levels of stress. In Tanzania, we have seen how some teachers disengage from teaching, literally absenting themselves from the classroom, when they feel let down by society and government. In both England and Tanzania, the practice of competence relies on collegiality. In England, this has in the past, been undermined by teachers withdrawing into their classroom. In Tanzania, it is more commonly threatened by weak school leadership. Alternatively, when local living conditions are difficult, collegial relations may be a form of social but not professional support, although it also true that often the two exist together.

Table 10.1: Some contrasting features of Tanzanian competence and performance models

	A COMPETENCE MODEL	A PERFORMANCE MODEL
Identity construction	Overt integration of personal, social & professional identity	Separation or fragmentation of personal, social and occupational identity but internalisation of performance values
Value basis	Social and humanist	Broadly individualist
Organisational structure	Formal hierarchical structure with recognition of mutuality.	Pyramid hierarchical structure
Organisational culture	Collegiate, emphasis on cooperation, consensus and collective problem-solving. Family as organising metaphor	Systems management, with emphasis on efficiency and target-setting or paternalistic, with emphasis on respect for seniors
Relations with pupils	Teachers as facilitators and guides for pupils. Also second parents, especially for children with obvious needs	Teachers as delivering education and role models. Emphasis on pedagogic skills and conduct in and out of school
Relations with community	Identity in community fused with professional identity. Local expert on bureaucratic and educational matters, informal community educator and respected member of community	Relations with community restricted to appearing to be an upright citizen who can be entrusted with care for children and carrying out formal duties, such as collecting census data.
Relations with state	Local representative of government, expects a certain level of social security and specific needs to be met	Employee contractually bound to follow directives and carry out specified duties in exchange for salary.
Professionalism	Vocation covenant based on a commitment to education as a form of personal, community and national development	Contract-based professionalism as classroom teaching for examination success plus administrative duties
Accountability	Personal and collective responsibility to pupils as children, shared with parents, society and state	Bureaucratic accountability, often nominal. Accountability to community means getting the most able pupils into secondary school.
Classroom practice	Contact with pupils and awareness of learning. Emphasis on use of participative strategies	Teach from front, emphasis on delivery of explanation and assessment

	A COMPETENCE MODEL	A PERFORMANCE MODEL
Educational purpose	Education as preparation of whole child for work, parenthood and citizenship. Ultimately contributing to community and national development	Education as individual advancement through preparation for examination success. Ultimately contributing to family welfare and national development through expansion of skilled manpower
Economic costs	Expensive if potential to be realised because requires reasonable class-sizes and supportive administration. Not as expensive as English competence because less personalised	In theory cheaper because can be practiced with larger class-sizes but in practice most successful in relatively affluent urban areas because success depends on material resources and cultural capital of individual pupils
Weaknesses	Related discourses used to mask or express demoralisation, especially when systemic conditions prevent practice of *malezi* and participative pedagogies Reliant on collegial relations, weak or corrupt school leadership likely to produce disengagement amongst staff. Collegial relations may focus on social support amongst staff to the exclusion of professional support Demoralisation and disengagement from teaching in response to perceived low social status	Demoralisation when state fails to pay correct salary on time and no opportunity for self-improvement. Derogatory attitudes towards local communities and lack of contact with pupils undermines classroom practice despite emphasis on technical pedagogic expertise Education becomes competition which only academically and socially advantaged can win. High drop out rates amongst least advantaged groups

10.2 Usefulness of the study

In the course of conducting a conversation between the English models of teacher identity and those found for Tanzanian teachers, I have suggested some policy implications. The bulk of these have been directed at Tanzania, as the principal focus of this study. They have included the need to prioritise administrative and professional support for teachers posted to remote areas, most especially newly qualified and early career teachers; appreciation of the experience of grade B teachers and fostering a systemic culture of valuing relations within educational processes. Employment conditions emerged as a key issue in relation to Tanzanian teacher identity and one which is intimately related with resource and systemic issues. Teachers themselves, especially when gathered in groups, raised salary as the single most important issue affecting educational quality. If teachers are to be enabled to realise their notions of 'good teaching', government must meet its contractual obligations to pay salaries and award pay-rises on time, as well as ensuring that even the most remotely located teachers can benefit, or else are exempted, from the national health insurance scheme. At the same time, however, other initiatives are also needed to turn around teachers' collective occupational identity as a demoralised and undervalued workforce. Accountability of and support to village teachers needs to be improved with priority given to districts such as Shinyanga Rural, which face the greatest logistical challenges or are the most under-resourced. The awareness-raising campaigns, carried out by organisations such as *Kuleana* and *Haki Elimu*, have quite rightly prioritised the protection of children's rights and the improvement of their educational experience. However, as they seek to stimulate debate around teachers' conduct and encourage communities and parents to hold teachers to account, care should be taken that teachers are not made

scapegoats for the many problems within education. Teachers should be accountable but they also need to be reassured rhetorically, publicly and practically by state and society that the work they do is valued and appreciated.

The nature of the study has meant that recommendations with respect to England have been less specific. They included understandings of shared responsibility for children's upbringing and an alternative competence mode that emphasises education as a social, as well as personal, project. However, this study is likely to be of most interest not to Tanzanian or English policy-makers but to Western agencies and experts interested in educational improvement in Tanzania and other Anglophone Sub Saharan African countries. This is because it speaks to the issues, raised in the rationale in the first chapter, of how educational ideas transfer from Western to so-called 'developing' countries. Despite the concern development agencies express over poor quality teaching, the trying working conditions of teachers and unacceptable misconduct, teachers themselves are still poorly understood. This study has made a start at interpreting the educational and social values that underpin Tanzanian teachers' practice and self-image. Further, through comparing Tanzanian with English models of teacher identity, it has shown the limitations of Western concepts of professionalism for international transfer. For example, post-reform performance modes of professionalism, which stress self-management, are located within a context of advanced liberalism, and cannot be assumed to be appropriate to contexts where state, society and self interact in different ways.

Bernstein's constructs of performance and competence link pedagogy to context. It

is because of this that they have proved to be powerful theoretical tools for opening up the complexities contained in the long-running debate on the feasibility of changing teachers' practice in low-income countries. Chapter eight (section 8.4.4, pp. 260-1) concluded that the barriers to transforming Tanzanian primary pedagogy from performance to competence mode are material rather than cultural. As long as a context of scarcity persists, improvements will have to come about within the performance mode. Hence, the findings of this thesis support the arguments of Guthrie (1990) and others (Monk, 1999; Johnson *et al.*, 2000), referred to in chapter one (section 1.3.6, pp. 21-2), that teachers in low-income countries are constrained to traditional teaching methods by their contexts rather than their capability. However, elements of a distinctive Tanzanian competence mode were also found. This raises questions around uncritical transfer of educational ideas. Not least amongst these is to what extent international 'partners' in educational development should seek to improve pedagogical knowledge and professional attitudes and to what extent they should seek to enable teachers to practice the knowledge and values they already hold. If they are to attempt the former, they need to set about it in cooperation with local educators and with respect for their professional identity and knowledge. This includes seeking out examples of competence practice that already exist within Tanzania, both within and outside of the formal education system.

10.3 Strengths and limitations

10.3.1 Reflections on methodology

The aim of this study was to open a two-way conversation between Tanzanian primary school teachers' constructions of their occupational identity and models of teacher identity to be found in the literature on English primary school teachers, treating each as contextually situated. Hence, this was not a straight-forward

comparative study because of its methodological asymmetry with respect to each country. A two-way conversation was achieved to the extent that assumptions within the English system were scrutinised in the process of applying theory that arose from a Western context to the Tanzanian case. For example, the review of literature on English teachers sensitised me to Tanzanian teachers' perceptions of a division in their responsibilities along the same lines as the humanist-rationalist split in England. Conversely, data collected in Tanzania made the extreme emphasis on personalisation in England appear as a peculiarity. This suggested that the competence/performance framework could be applied to Tanzania but needed to be adapted, with a shift in emphasis from personal to social.

The advantage of using the conversation model in this way is that it enabled me to apply theories developed for the Western context with an awareness of their contextually situated nature. The asymmetry in the methodological design has meant that beyond highlighting areas where England might learn something from the Tanzanian experience, the thesis has spoken little to the English situation. What I have termed 'inter-textual comparison' affords the comparative advantage of being able to " 'tae see oursel's as ithers see us" (Stenhouse, 1979:8) without the expense of collecting data in two countries. However, it necessarily creates an inequality in the epistemological conversation across cultures. In this instance, inter-textual comparison was well suited to the purpose of arriving at a description of Tanzanian teachers' identity and values, which is accessible and useful to educationalists internationally. However, there is no reason why the conversation model could not be applied in a more symmetric comparison between two or more countries with a more equally divided focus on each country.

10.3.2 Research design and methods

Qualitative research is always vulnerable to the criticism that a small number of cases cannot be argued to be in anyway statistically representative of a large population, such as all schools in a country. In chapter three (section 3.3.3, pp. 76-8), it is argued that this disadvantage needs to be balanced against the benefits of descriptive detail yielded by qualitative techniques. Teachers interviewed in this study did work in a mixture of urban (most of the schools visited in Shinyanga Municipality), peri-urban (Kibaha) and rural schools (Shinyanga Rural and Mkuranga). The schools visited were not necessarily representative of the district as a whole, mainly for reasons of access. The schools in Shinyanga Rural were all located close to main roads, as indeed the majority, although by no means all, schools in Tanzania are. Kibaha district includes many village schools but none were visited, although village teachers did take part in a discussion meeting. In Mkuranga, I could only visit schools that were within fifteen kilometres of the district headquarters. In Shinyanga Municipality, I did visit a mix of remote and town schools. However, the most remote schools had benefited from Oxfam sponsorship. In none of the districts did I visit the most remote and neglected schools. Although I would have liked to interview teachers at more remote schools, I doubt this would have made much difference to the overall findings. On the other hand, my knowledge of primary school teachers' working context was mostly acquired through the two focus schools and these were similar in respect to size and their mixed urban-village features. Hence, I did not get an opportunity to observe a small village school in operation, except through the single teacher study of Mwl. JB. Not observing a large town school was, perhaps a greater limitation on the study. On the

whole, the combination of focus studies and interviews has allowed me to be sensitive and aware of context and to arrive at findings that can be extended to the whole of Tanzania. The element of the research design that with hindsight I might have done differently is the discussion meetings. Although they did corroborate emerging findings and highlight the extent to which employment conditions effected collective occupational identity, I am not convinced that this justified their expense in terms of disrupted learning (see the discussion in section 3.5.3, p. 90).

10.3.3 Researcher's prejudices

Whilst in the field informants and others often gave advice along the lines, "If you go to the really remote schools, you will find the truth there". The implication was that "the truth" I wanted to find is what is wrong with primary education in Tanzania. Leaving aside the epistemological status of truth, I was more interested in the positive values that shape teachers' practice and identity. I have tried not to cover up incidents of what might be considered, at least in Western eyes, as bad practice where they are of relevance to the research objectives. On the other hand, neither have I tried to seek out bad practice, or, as explained above, the most difficult school conditions. Teacher misconduct is certainly of relevance but is not a topic of the study. Consequently, Tanzanian teachers may appear to be portrayed in a more positive light than is usual in research reports. As explained in the introduction, this research was designed and carried out at a time when two reports in Tanzania have highlighted teacher unprofessionalism (Rajani & Robinson, 1999; Rajani, 2001) and when much international research has treated Sub Saharan African teachers as a problem to be solved. Recently, Fiona Leach and colleagues (Leach & Machakanja, 2000; Leach, 2003; Leach *et al.*, 2003) have carried out valuable and long overdue research into sexual abuse in Sub Saharan African schools, which includes a look at

how teachers contribute to chauvinism and abuse in schools. This thesis is intended to stand alongside such work, to contribute to a balanced debate around teachers and point the way forward to creating a policy context, which will assist teachers to realise their professional potential. Quite simply knowing what is wrong with teachers is not enough, it is also important to understand what they believe to be correct conduct and 'good practice'.

There can be little doubt that a Tanzanian researcher or a researcher from another African country would have arrived at a different, although overlapping, set of insights to those presented here. My Englishness, as well as my teaching experience in Tanzania, has inevitably coloured how I have approached the research questions and the conclusions I have reached. Indeed, it is explicit within the epistemological framework, explained in chapter two, that the author must have prejudices, which, according to Gadamer, both enable and limit her interpretations. I have tried, as far as possible, to declare my prejudices through giving some biographic information in the rationale at the start of this thesis and through considering how data collection and analysis may have been influenced by my own identity. Yet, we are all to some extent blind to our own personal prejudices. Having lived in Tanzania, my position as a Swahili-speaking white English woman no longer seemed as strange to me as it once did and hence, I have found it harder to analyse the effect this may have had on data collection. Similarly, it is hard to judge how three years teaching in secondary schools, not to mention eleven years as a pupil in English and Welsh schools, has influenced the way I saw primary school classrooms. I suspect that where I was pleasantly surprised by the variety of methods by many of the teachers I observed, an English researcher with more experience of primary schooling and less of African

schools might have been less impressed.

10.4 Directions for future research

An interesting and worthwhile exercise would be to review this thesis together with other theses on Tanzanian teachers undertaken by postgraduate researchers based in UK and at the University of Dar es Salaam. Desktop research along these lines could attempt to sew together the insights of researchers, who occupy different spaces on the insider-outsider continuum, and provide a valuable resource to organisations and researchers concerned with education and its improvement in Tanzania. Currently there are no less than three other Ph.D. students in UK (William Anangisye; Stephen Kerr, 2005; and Ruth Wedgwood, all based at the University of Edinburgh) working on topics related to Tanzanian teachers and taking different approaches to current development in primary education policy. Masters theses at the University of Dar es Salaam remain an under-utilised store of research.

Towards the end of chapter eight (section 8.4.4, pp.260-1), I suggested the existence of a distinctly Tanzanian competence mode of pedagogy and named the techniques used by *Tuseme*, a theatre project aimed at secondary school students, as an example of such a pedagogy. Most research on pedagogy in Africa uses random or opportunistic sampling strategies and hence gives insights into the dominant performance mode. Whilst such an approach may be statistically representative, a project that intentionally sought out competence or 'good' practice both within and outside of the formal education system has the potential to point the way forward along sustainable and culturally appropriate paths.

Towards the end of my second field visit to Tanzania, the first group of students

placed on a new 'crash course' were arriving in schools. These were secondary school graduates, in their early twenties or younger, who after one year in Teachers' College were being posted to schools as 'trainee' teachers. Many were sent to the least desirable postings where vacancies remained unfilled. Currently two thousand people a year are being recruited through this new programme. In six years, graduates from the crash programme will constitute around ten per cent of all teachers. The findings of this study and Hedges' research in Ghana (2002) suggest that their early experiences in schools will have a formative and lasting impact on their occupational identity. It would therefore be timely to carry out qualitative, perhaps narrative or longitudinal, research amongst this group to discover their experiences and how these are shaping their occupational identity and skills. Such a study would provide important information on the type of support they will need in order to avoid the estrangement I observed amongst young teachers in remote schools.

Given the extent of low morale amongst teachers and the consequences this has for pupils' learning it is urgent for more research to be carried out, not just in Tanzania but across Sub Saharan Africa, aimed at understanding the experiences and professional needs of teachers working in contexts of scarcity. There are numerous approaches to this and what is required is a collection of studies taking different angles in order to cumulatively construct a picture of how teachers can best be supported by policy and project initiatives. Examples of the type of research that would be topical are case studies of schools which, like Isega, have recently and perhaps unexpectedly become successful, or participative research that stimulates debate and collective reflection amongst teachers on issues related to their

professionalism and practice.

The comparative perspective has been used by others and to great effect to give insight into how reform in England has shaped educational processes (see, for example, Vulliamy *et al.*, 1997; Alexander, 2000). On the whole, however, it is assumed that little is to be learnt of benefit to the wealthier country from comparison with a low-income country. This study has illustrated that such comparisons can draw attention to the fundamental ways in which context shapes education as well as drawing our attention to the taken-for-granted values that have shaped and continued to shape Western education systems. As the changes brought about by reform have come to be accepted, there is scope for further research using comparison to inquire into how they have influenced teacher and pupil identity. An example of a research question might be, 'How do assessment criteria influence teacher and learner identity in England and Tanzania?'. This would give insight into how and to what extent assessment criteria are internalised in two systems where learners are under continuous pressure to perform but where assessment takes very different forms and is linked to different future educational opportunities.

Anne Hickling-Hudson (2004) has argued the value of learning between postcolonial countries and pointed out that, so far, this is an under-researched area. There is scope for more research projects, comparing Tanzania with a range of high- and low-income counties, which are oriented towards the development of theory. Such studies would deepen understanding and appreciation of the strengths of Tanzania practice, such as the characteristics of its competence mode, and contribute towards positioning Western-influenced discourses of education development. They would

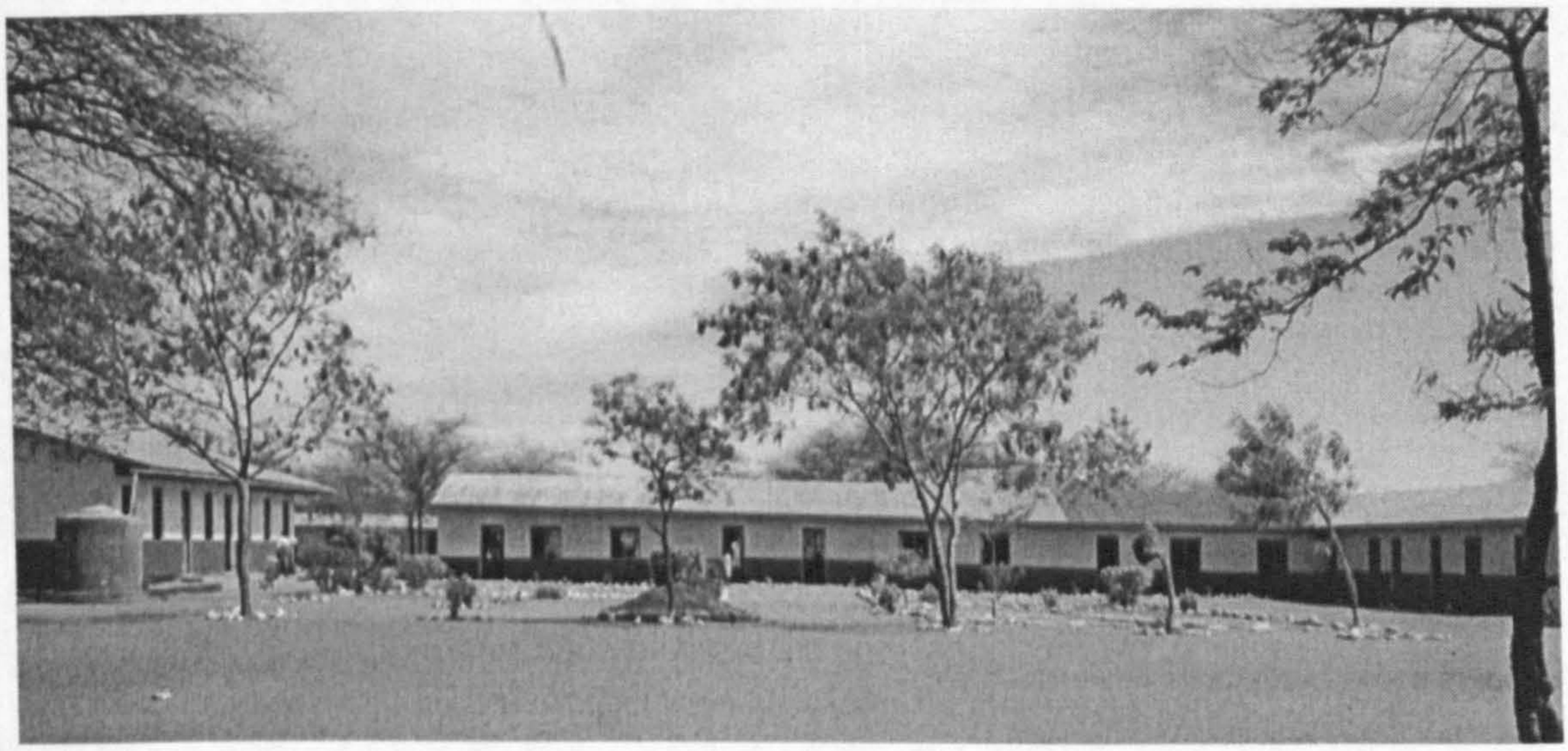
stand alongside many international studies of African and other low-income counties, aimed at informing international influence on national policy-making. Qualitative research involving collaborations between researchers from different countries might also be based on and contribute towards emerging partnerships within the region of East and Southern Africa.

10.5 The last word deferred

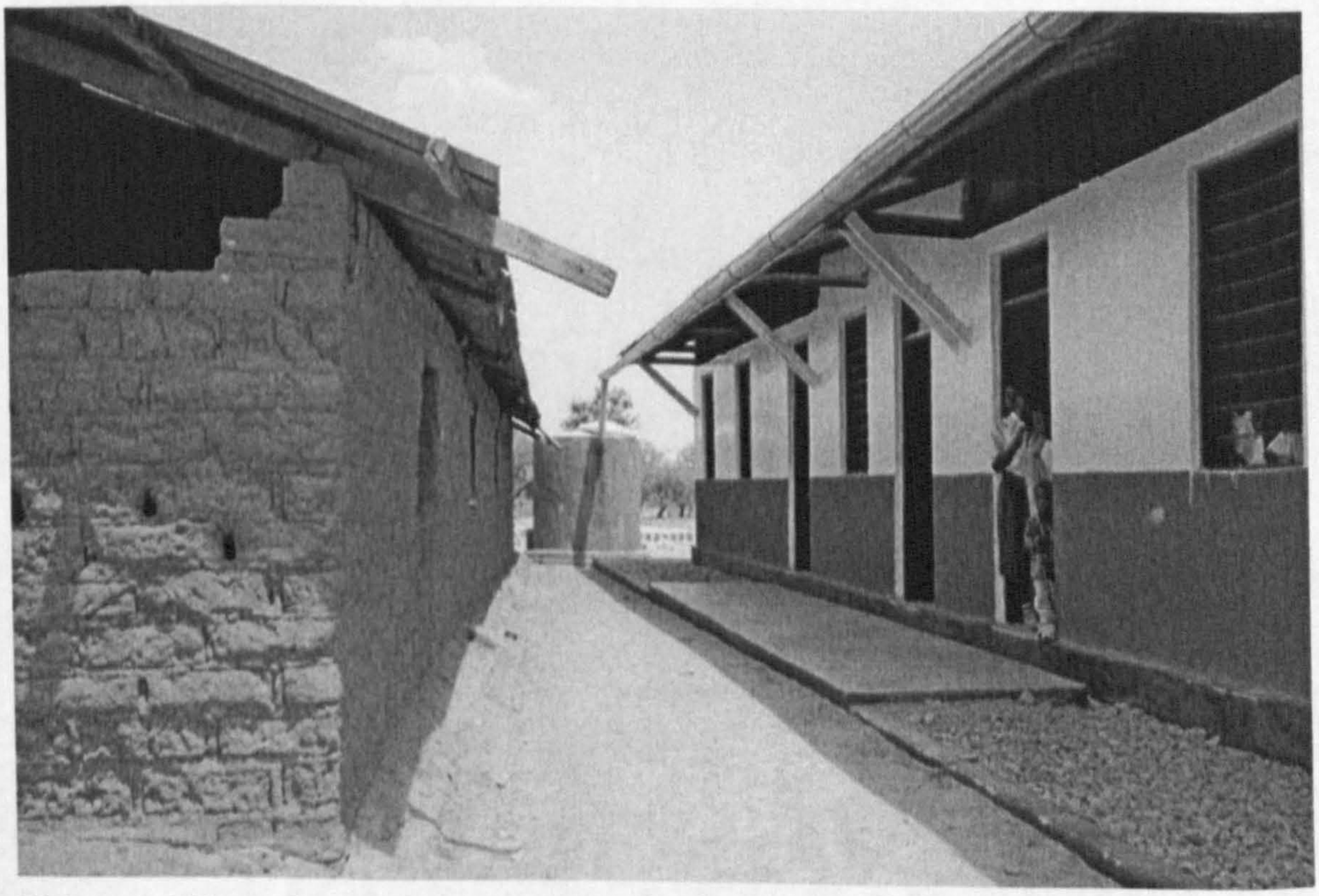
I argued in the introduction that researchers need to look beyond the problems and listen critically to teachers as thinking, feeling and believing human beings. Within the covers of this thesis this has been achieved. Yet, according to the epistemology laid out in chapter two, the discussion and conclusions reached are not a last word but just one contribution to an ongoing conversation over an ever-changing identity landscape. It is hoped that this research will contribute constructively towards further academic debate that in turn engages in dialogue with policy-makers and teachers themselves and is directed at improving the educational experience of pupils and, at the same time, teachers.

Photographs from Fieldwork in Tanzania

Photographs from Fieldwork in Tanzania

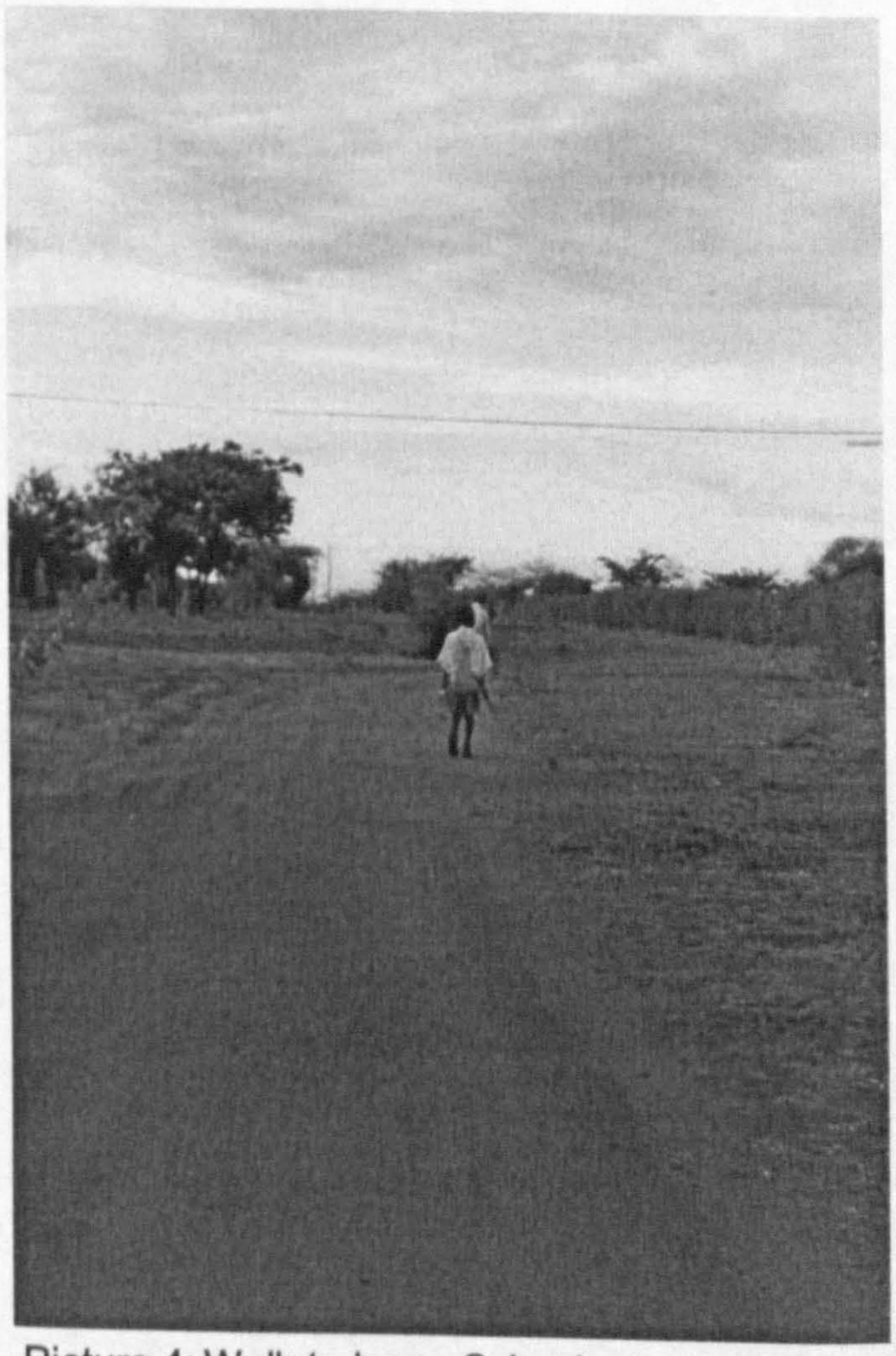


Picture 1: Isega Compound

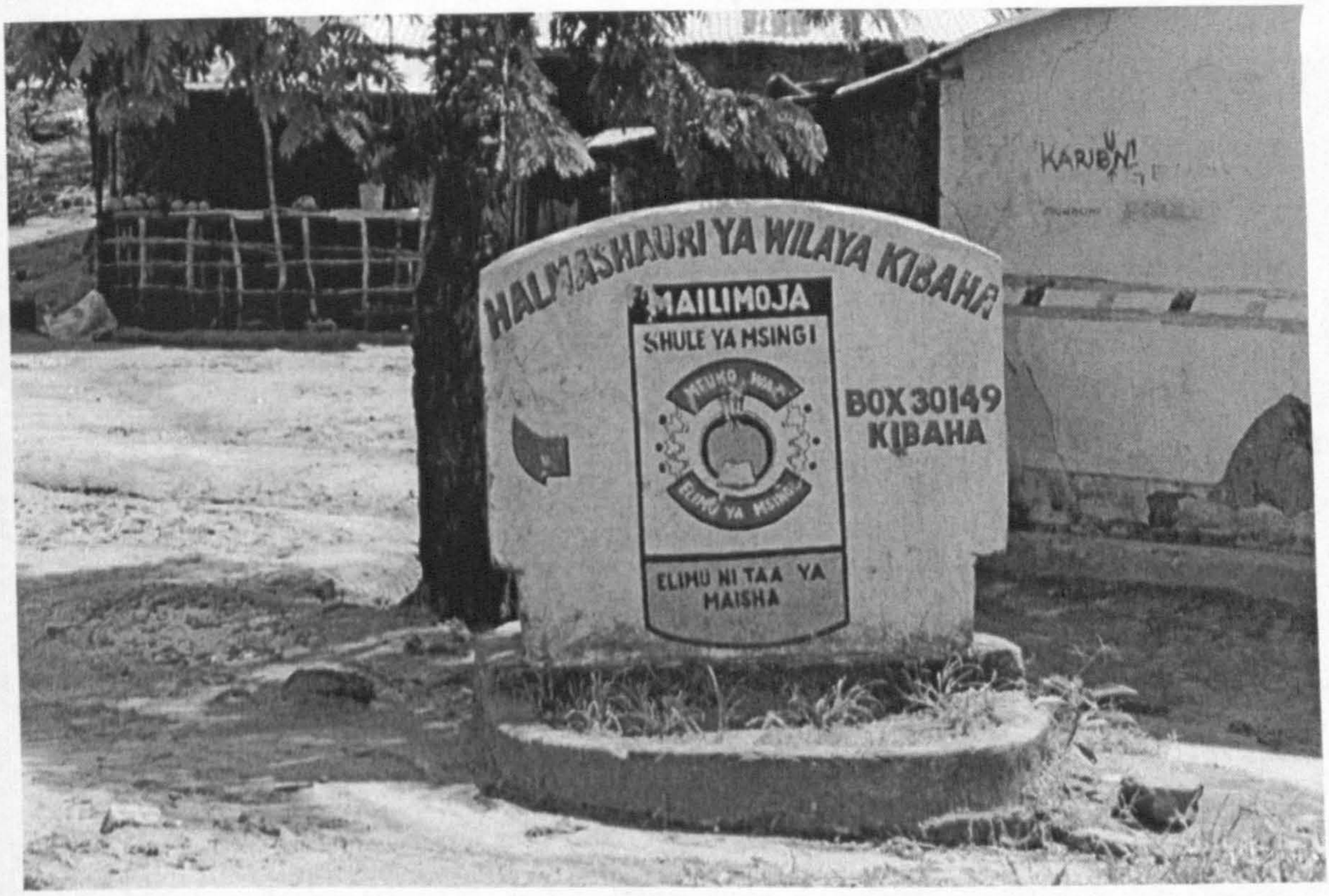


Picture 2: Village School, Shinyanga Rural

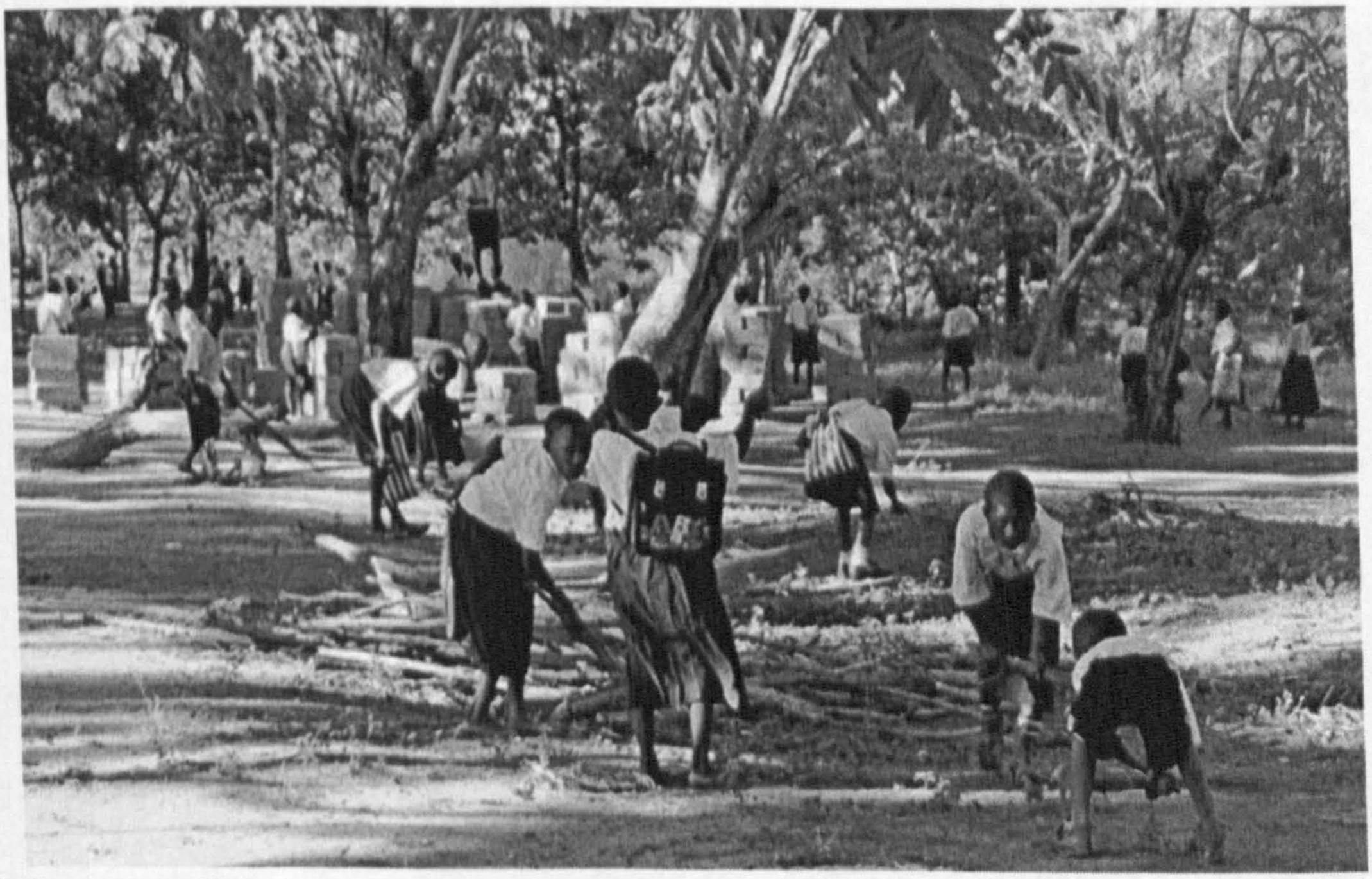
Picture 3: Classrooms, Mkuranga District



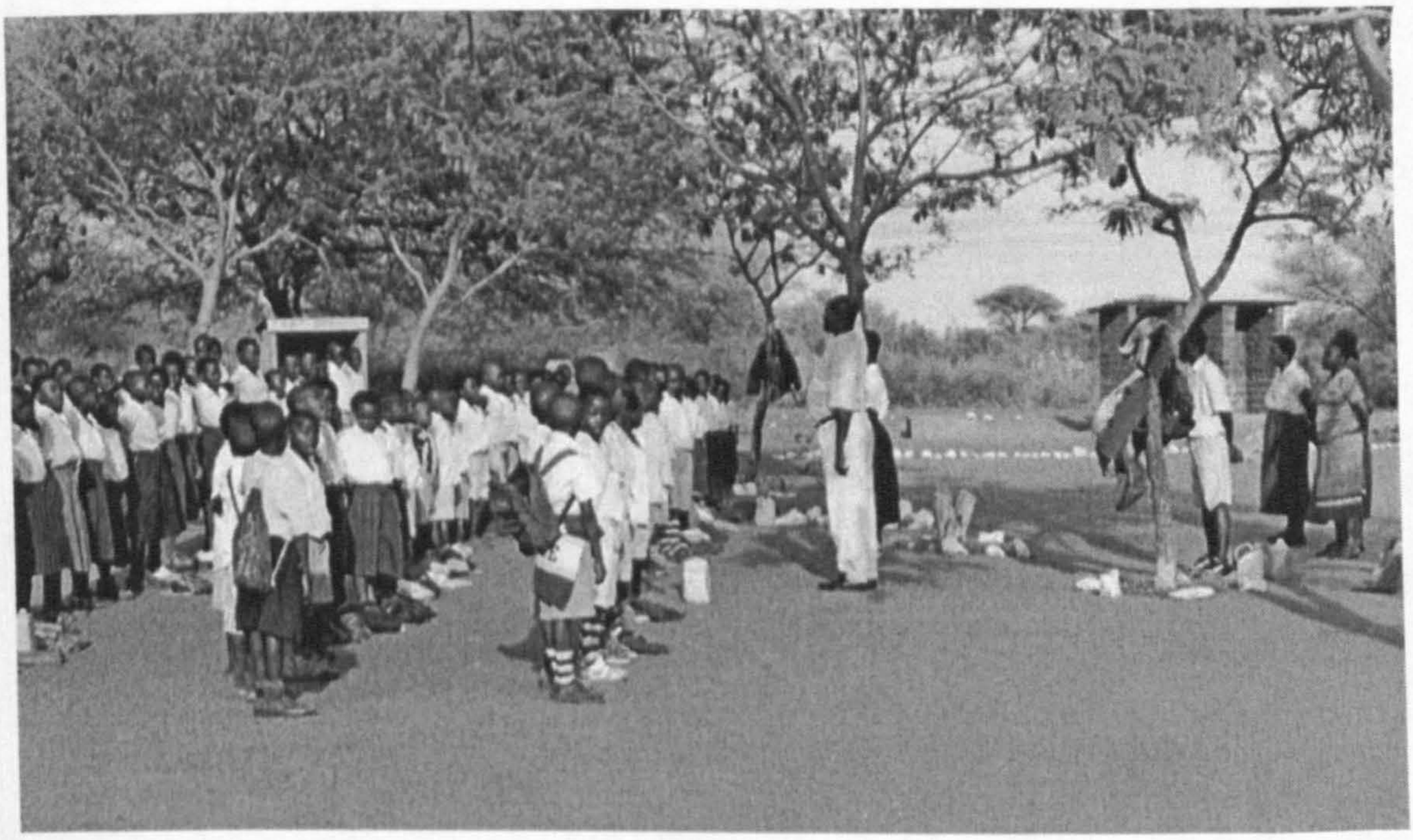
Picture 4: Walk to Isega School



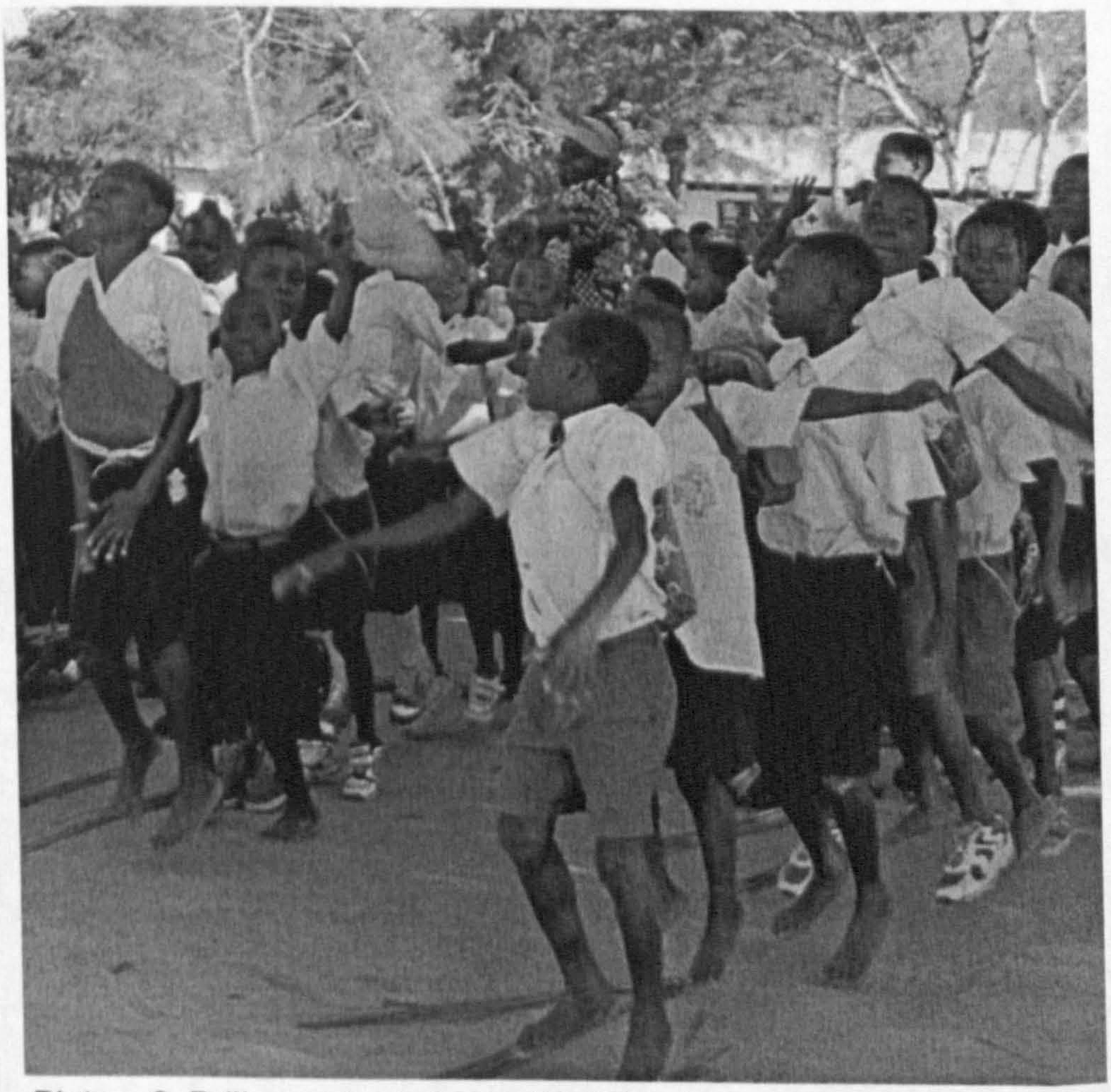
Picture 5: "Kibaha Town Council, Mailimoja School, Education is a lamp for life"



Picture 6: Cleaning compound at Mandhari

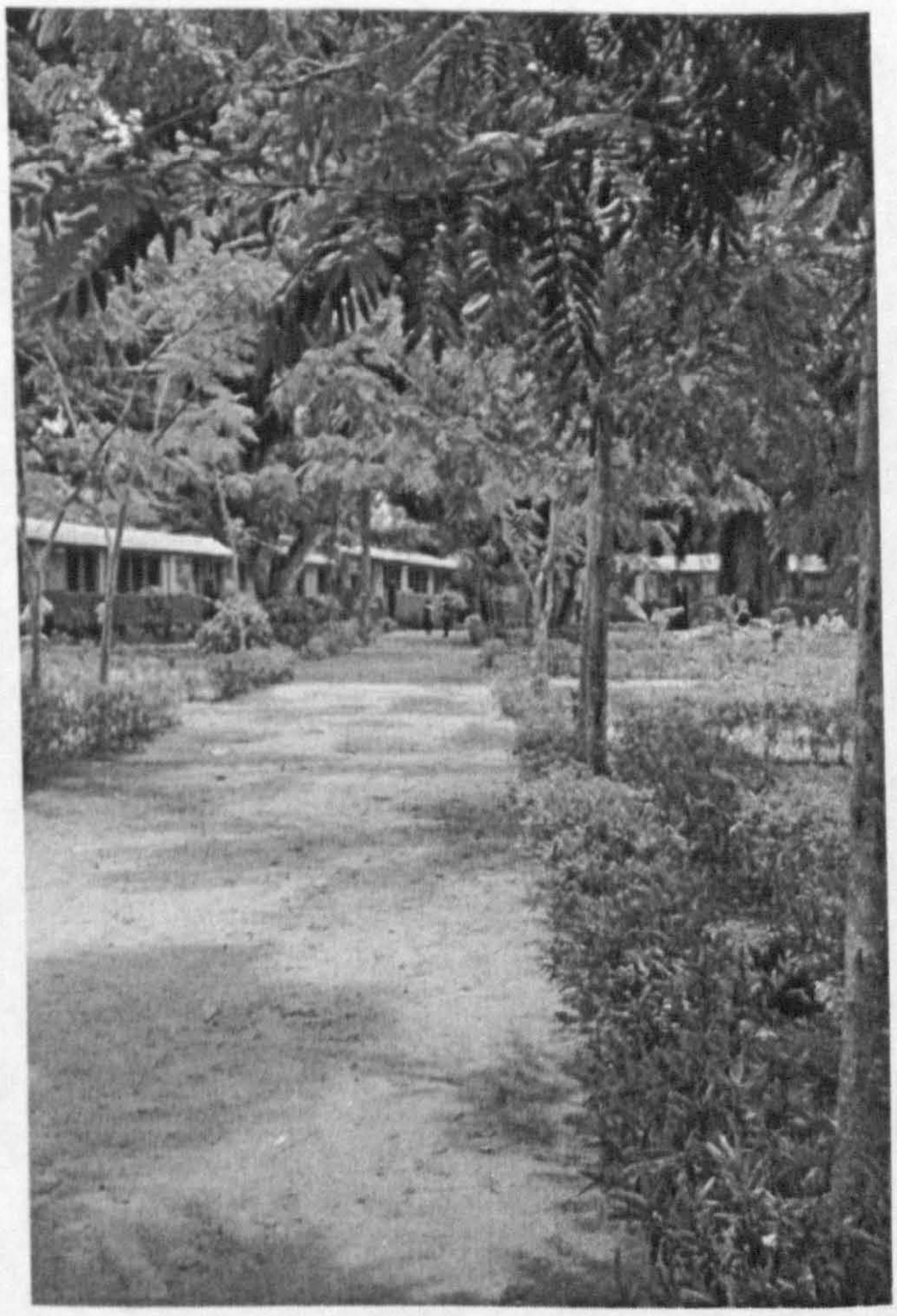


Picture 7: Parade at Isega School

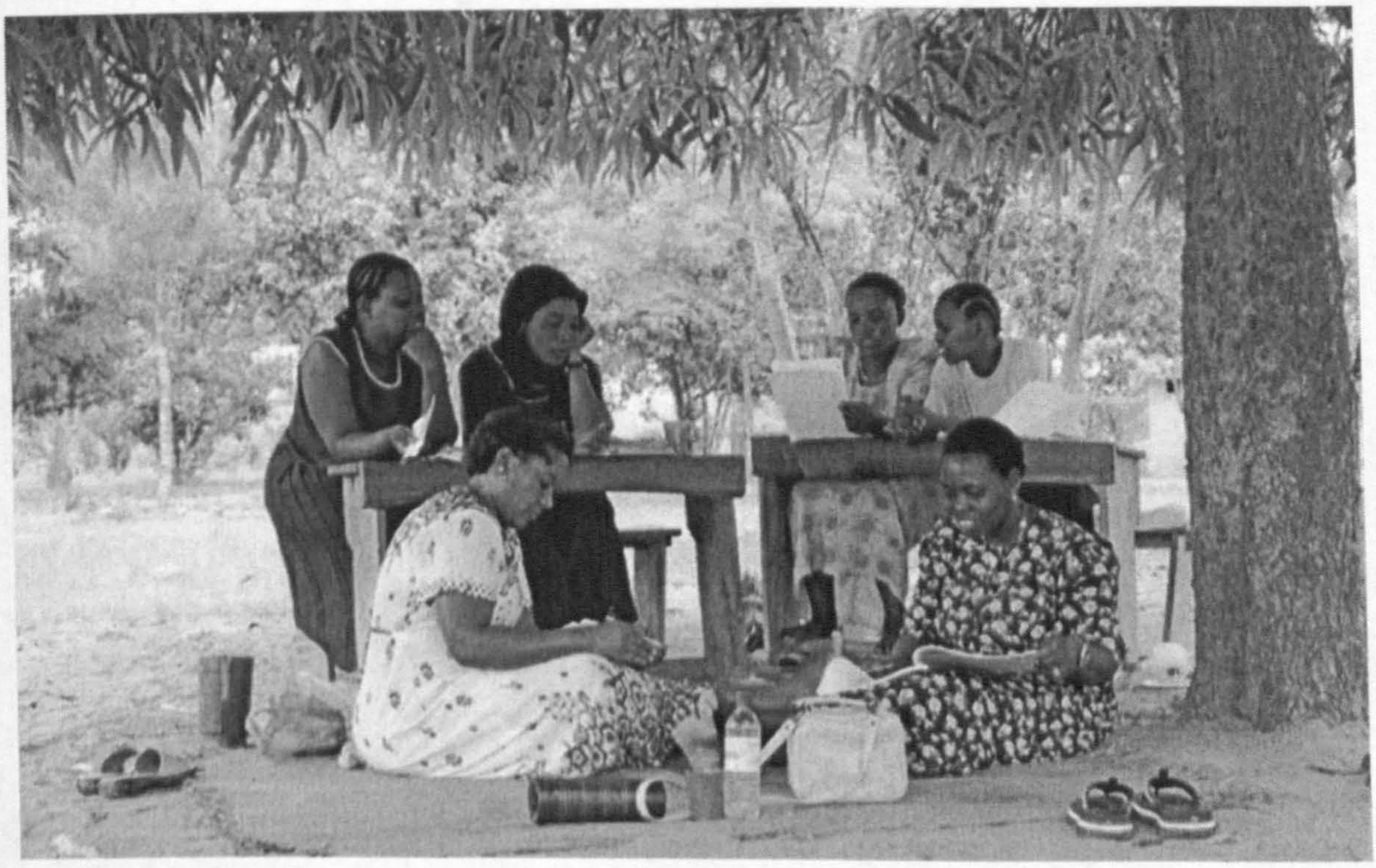


Picture 8: Drill exercises at Mandhari School

Picture 9: Mandhari School band



Picture 10: Attractive compound, Kibaha district

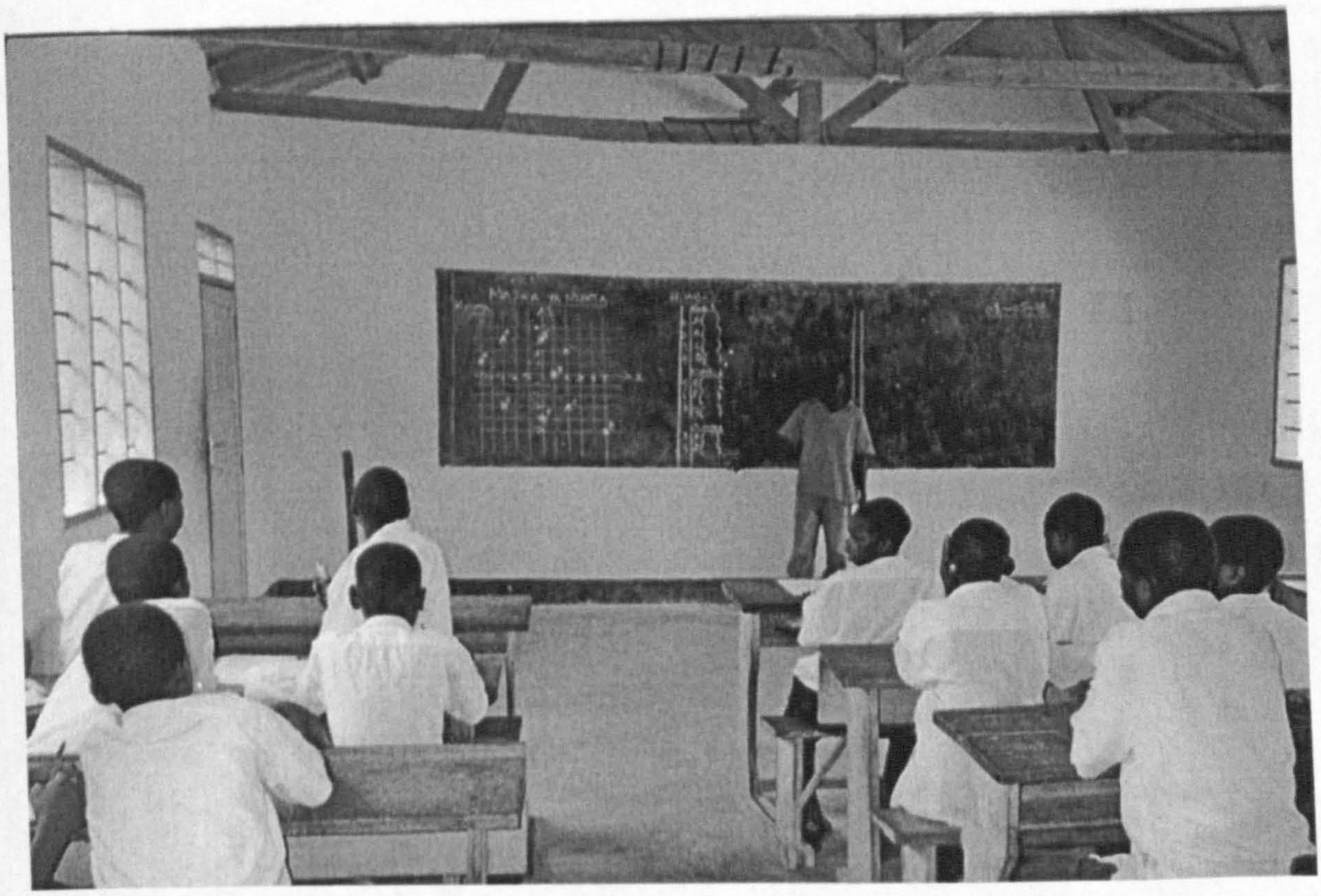


Picture 11: Teachers' Office moves outside, Mandhari School

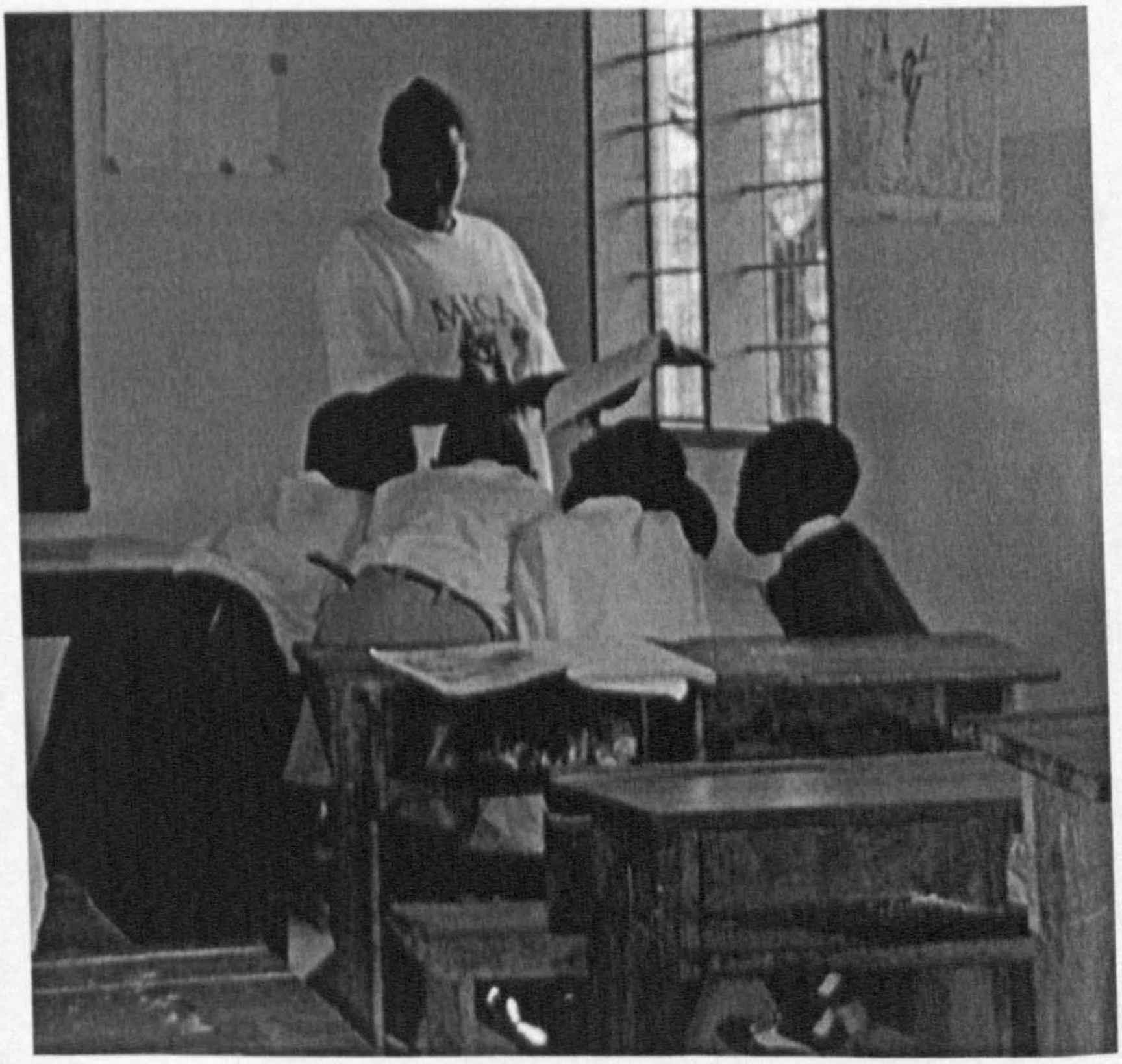
Picture 12: Mwl. JB in front of his house

Picture 13: Resource cupboard at JB's school

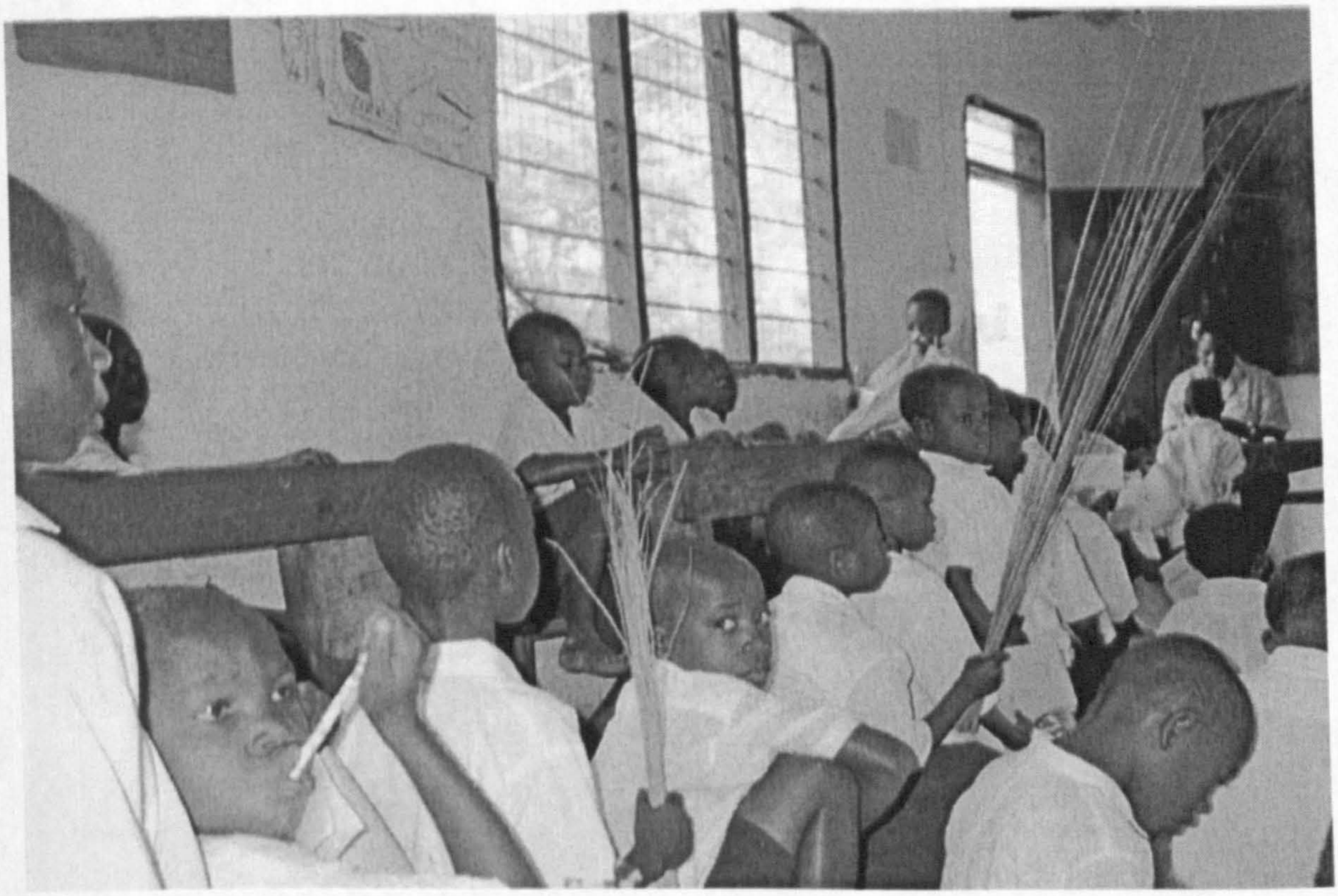
Picture 14: Mwl. Charles class on task



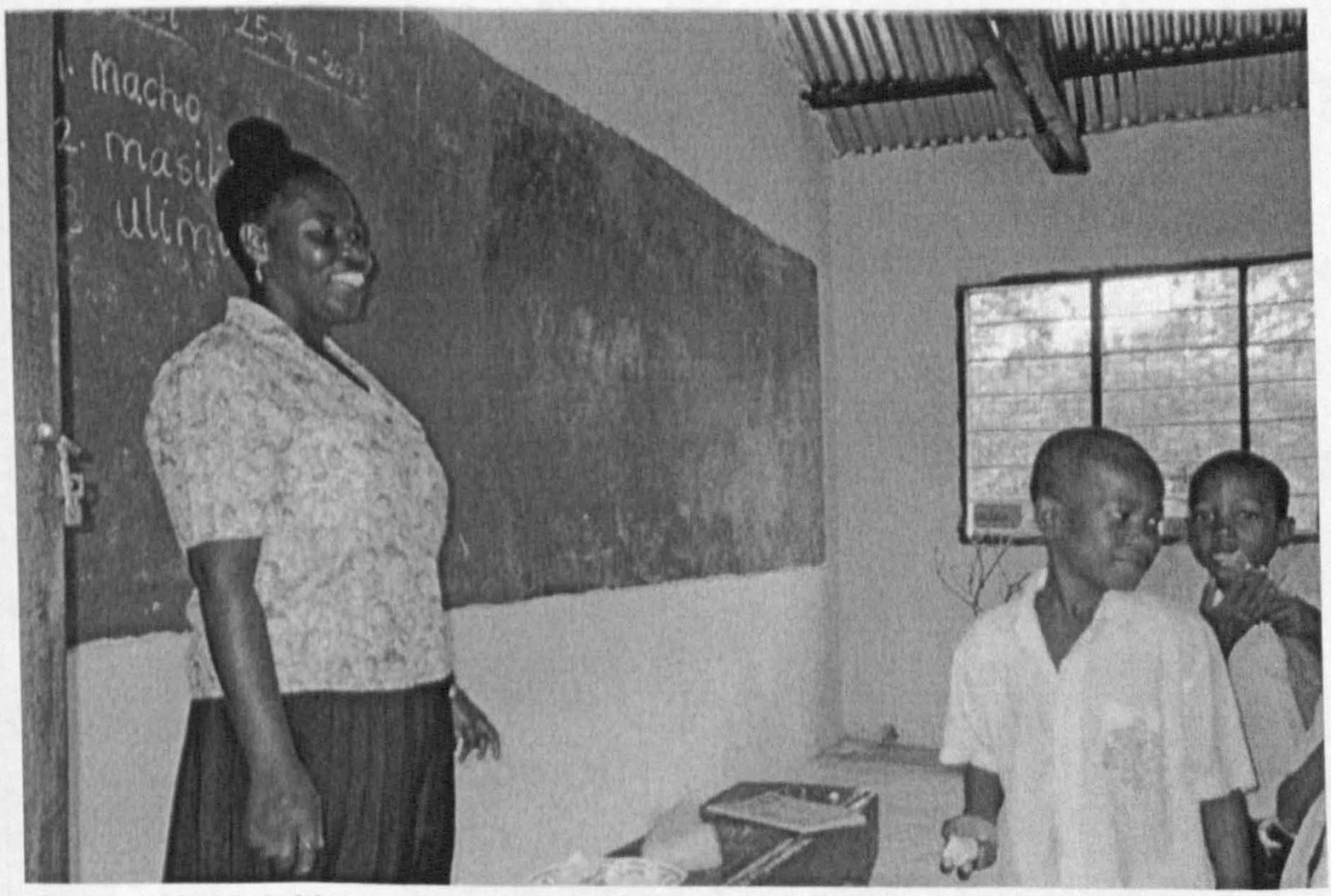
Picture 15: Mwl. JB in class



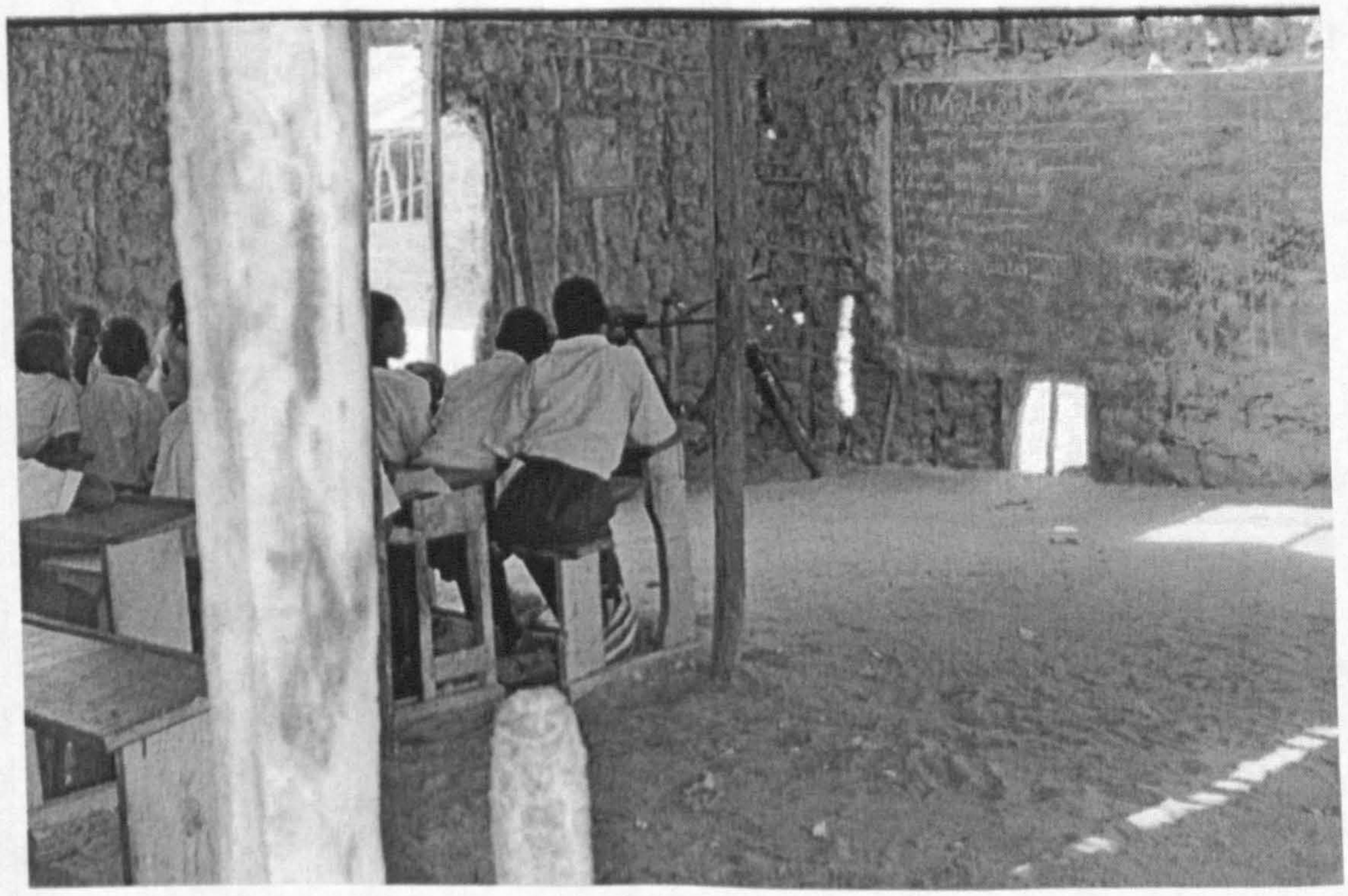
Picture 16: Grouped around a book in Mwl. Kabati's class



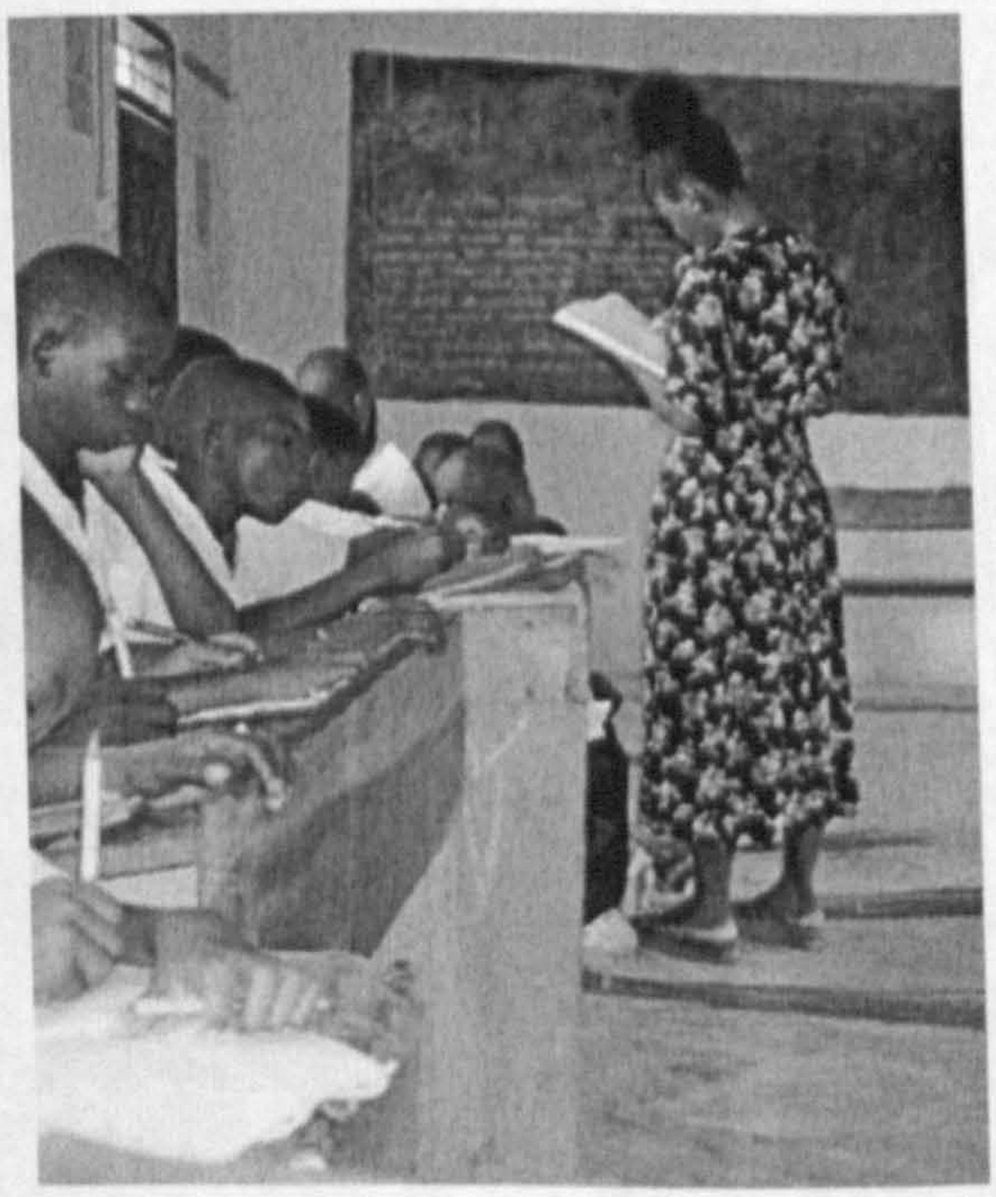
Picture 17: Waiting to have work marked in Mwl. Makonde's class



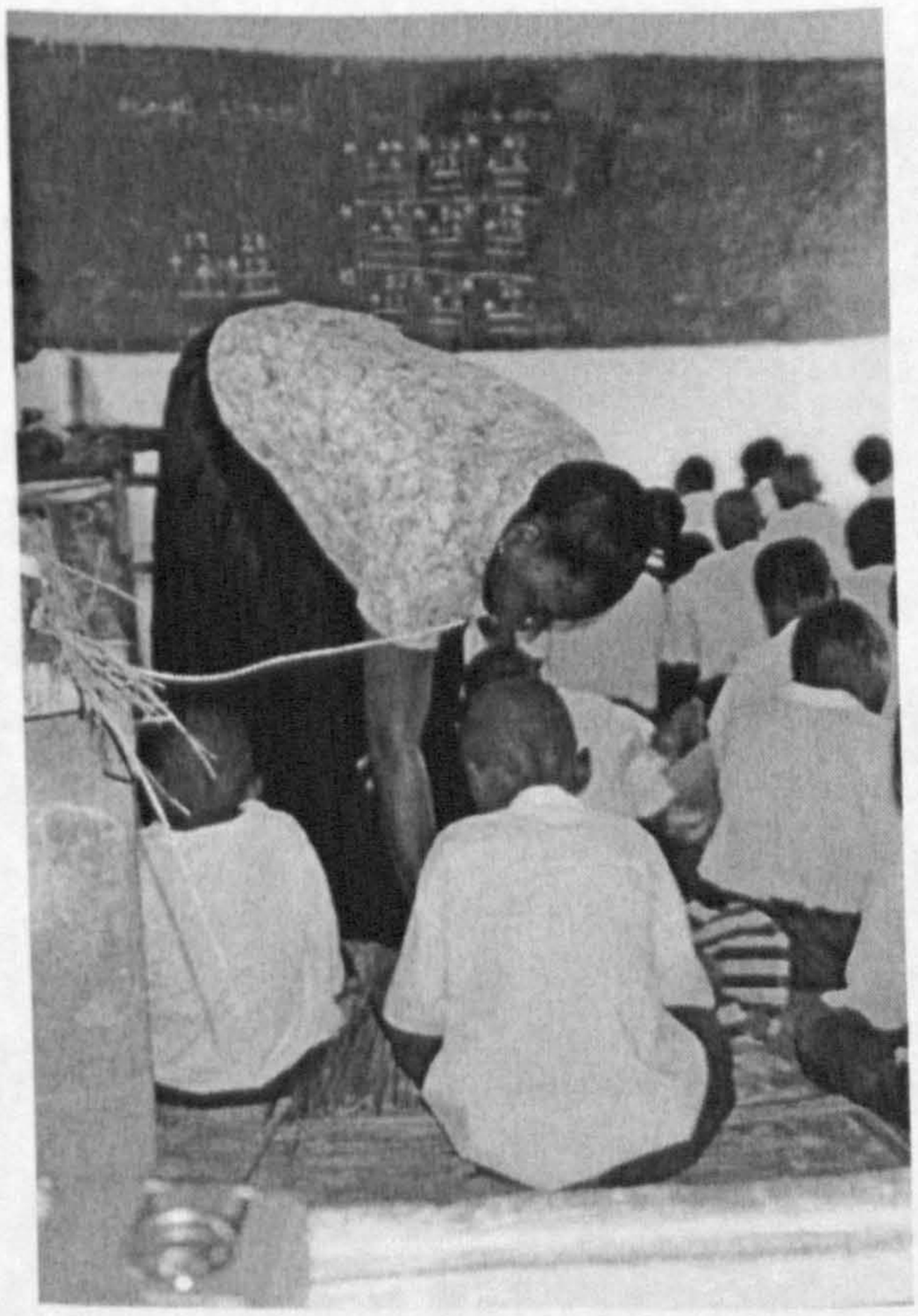
Picture 18: Mwl. Makonde teaches Science



Picture 19: Temporary/mud classroom at Mwl. JB's school



Picture 20: No contact, no praise—marking work, Mandhari School



Picture 21: Bend down low—Mwl. Makonde points out a correction, Mandhari School.

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Abbreviations

B.Ed.	Bachelor's of Education (first higher education degree)
BEDC	Basic Education Development Committee
BTP	Block Teaching Practice (Tz)
CBP	Children's Book Project
CCM	*Chama cha Mapinduzi* - The Revolutionary Party, ruling party (Tz)
COSTECH	Commission for Science and Technology, Tanzania
CWT	*Chama cha Walimu, Tanzania* – Tanzania Teachers' Union
DEO	District Education Office or Officer(s) (including all staff in DEOffice)
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment (UK)
DfID	Department for International Development (UK)
DSM	Dar es Salaam
EFA	Education for All
ERA	1988 Education Reform Act (of England and Wales)
ESR	Education for Self-Reliance
ETP	1995 Education and Training Policy, Tanzania
EWW	Elimu ya Watu Wazima (Adult Education)
F	Form (Secondary Year group in Tanzania)
FE	Further Education
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education, taken after eleven years of schooling in England and Wales.
GER	Gross Enrolment Ratio
HTO	Headteacher's Office
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
INCA	International Review of Curriculum and Assessment Frameworks Internet Archive
INSET	In-Service Training
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
KS	Keystage
LEA	Local Education Authority (England)
M.Ed.	Masters in Education
MEMKWA	Mpango wa Elimu ya Msingi kwa Walioikosa (Primary class for children too old at the point of enrolment to enter S1)
MoEC	Ministry of Education and Culture (Tz)

Mwl.	Abbreviation of the title "Mwalimu" (teacher)
NC	National Curriculum (England)
NER	Net Enrolment Ratio
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NUT	National Union of Teachers (England and Wales)
OFSTED	Office for Standards in Education (England and Wales)
O level	Ordinary Level
OTTU	Organisation of Tanzanian Trade Unions
PACE	Primary Assessment, Curriculum and Experience
PEDP	Primary Education Development Programme
PGCE	Postgraduate Certificate of Education (UK)
PSLE	Primary School Leaving Examination
QCA	Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (England)
QTS	Qualified Teacher Status (UK)
S	Standard (Primary Year group, Tanzania)
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Policies
SATS	Standard Assessment Tests
SEN	Special Education Needs
TADREG	Tanzania Development Research Group
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TC	Teachers' College (Tz)
TIE	Tanzania Institute of Education
TO	Teachers' Office
TSC	Teachers' Service Commission (Tz)
TTU	Tanzania Teachers' Union (same as CWT)
Tz	Tanzania
UIS	UNESCO Institute of Statistics
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nation Chidlren's Fund
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
WEC	Ward Education Coordinator

Teacher Identity in Context

A comparison of Tanzanian with English primary school teachers

APPENDICES

Angeline Barrett

PhD dissertation

Appendix 1: Documents for Negotiating Access

This first appendix contains copies of documents used to negotiate access and introduce the research project to informants. Appendix 1.1 is the proposal sent to COSTECH, the organisation, which controls outsider researchers' access to Tanzania across all disciplines. Appendices 1.2 and 1.3 were originally appendices to this proposal. On the basis of this proposal, Dr. Hillary Dachi was appointed as my in-country supervisor and I was granted a research permit for a period of one year from September 2002. Appendices 1.4 to 1.7 give a copy and, where appropriate, a transcript of documents I prepared to introduce the research to local education officers, schools and individual informants. They include, in order, a four page document in English given to Regional officers, DEOs and Oxfam staff; a one page document prepared for participating schools, a copy of which was given to the headteacher and each of the teachers interviewed; a one page document introducing data collection activities for the second stage of the research, given to schools and individuals, and a document for the focus teachers.

Appendices 1.8 to 1.10 are formal letters of introduction, in order, from COSTECH addressed to Regional administrators, from a Regional administrator's office to District administrators and from a DEO to schools. These together with the research permit issued by COSTECH established the legitimacy of the research. Finally, appendices 1.11 and 1.12 are letters I wrote during the second stage of the research. The first was given to DEOs upon re-establishing contact on my return visit. Delivering this as soon as I arrived in country and a few weeks in advance of carrying out the data collection allowed time to negotiate convenient dates for discussion meetings. The second, in appendix 1.12, is a letter from the District Academic Officer for Kibaha Town Council and myself, inviting teachers to participate in a discussion meeting. Mr. Shumbusho, the Academic Officer, then delivered these to schools using a district moped.

Appendix 1.1: Proposal sent to COSTECH for access to Tanzania

Tanzanian Primary School Teachers' Perceptions of their work

Proposal for a PhD study by
Angeline Barrett, Graduate School of Education, University of Bristol.
Advisers: Dr. Michael Crossley & Prof. Marilyn Osborn
Contact at the Faculty of Education, University of Dar es Salaam: Dr. P.S.D. Mushi
Contact: Angeline.Barrett@bristol.ac.uk

Educational innovation is ultimately implemented in schools and classrooms by teachers. Teachers' beliefs concerning the purpose and value of education, their role and responsibilities within schools and the realities of their social and material working environment all influence how policy is implemented in the classroom. Hence, relevant and feasible strategies for educational improvement need to take into account teachers' perspectives. This study aims to construct a description of the views and everyday working lives of primary school teachers which may inform the ongoing process of policy formulation currently being undertaken by the Education Sector Development Programme and the design of teacher development programmes. The findings should be of interest to policy-makers, teacher educators and researchers with an interest in teacher professionalism.

The study has a dialogic hermeneutic epistemological underpinning and makes use of a qualitative methodology, which is responsive to emerging findings rather than imposing the researchers preconceived understandings. The research employs qualitative research methods, which allow useful findings to be obtained from a small-scale project. The main data collection methods will be one-to-one interviews with about thirty practicing primary school teachers, two case studies of schools and about five focus group discussions with teachers. Data will be analysed for recurring themes, issues and 'scripts' which give insight into teachers' perspectives and experience. As well as writing up the research as an academic PhD thesis, findings will be summarised in a format which makes it accessible to practitioners and decision-makers.

Introduction

Educational innovation is ultimately implemented in schools and classrooms by teachers. Teachers' beliefs concerning the purpose and value of education, their role and responsibilities within schools and the realities of their social and material working environment all influence how policy is implemented in the classroom. Hence, relevant and feasible strategies for educational improvement need to take into account teachers' perspectives. This study aims to construct a description of the views and everyday working lives of primary school teachers which may inform the ongoing process of policy formulation currently being undertaken by the Education Sector Development Programme and the design of teacher development programmes.

Background

The Education for All movement has set the agenda for educational policy making and innovation in many developing countries, far more so than in wealthier nations despite its intended global scope. In particular, it has drawn attention to the importance of quality of educational provision, a point which was underscored and elaborated by Lockheed & Verspoor's (1991) influential text. By the mid 1990s, the

emphasis on quality had turned the spotlight on teachers as one of the major determinants of quality, as exemplified by Unesco's 1998 World Report, which featured the topic (UNESCO, 1998). Teacher development was already a familiar theme to international educationalists, who had been disappointed by the failure of curricular innovation alone to change teaching practice (Crossley, 1984). However, much literature takes a cost-efficiency view, typical of much school effectiveness research in developing countries in the eighties and early nineties (as observed by Hawes & Stephens, 1990; Pennycuick, 1993). This means that teachers and their work tends to be discussed in terms of input variables such as class size and number of hours worked (e.g. World Bank, 1995).

Yet, educational researchers from diverse countries are convinced that teaching is a value-based profession (Dalin, 1990:242) and, accordingly, policy directives are mediated through the filter of teachers' values (Osborn *et al.*, 2000). So whilst, the materials which teachers have to work with *do* matter and improvements to these can have a significant impact on quality (Crossley, 1984; Knamiller, 1999) so do the believes and values teachers' hold. It is also widely recognised that teachers as practitioners have "knowledge-in-action" (Connolly & Clandinin, 1995) i.e. practical knowledge gained through experience. Teacher research in developing countries has only recently started to listen to teachers and take what they say seriously (e.g. Jessop & Penny, 1998; Akyeampong & Stephens, 2002). For a long time it was commonly assumed, on the basis of Beeby's (1966) theory of stages of development, that there is little educational researchers can learn from teachers who are at the lower stages of development. However, some researchers, most notably Guthrie (e.g. 1990) have maintained that teachers, whatever their level of qualification, make rational pedagogical decisions given the constraints and contexts within which they work. Recent growth of interest in teachers' perceptions has largely arisen from the recognition that teacher education and curriculum development initiatives have to start from teachers actual working conditions and their own understanding of educational processes, and not just from the sophisticated models of experts (O'Sullivan, 2002; Stuart & Lewin, 2002). Hence, this study aims to make the working context, experiences and perspectives of teachers accessible to both national and international researchers and policy-makers.

Research Objectives

The aim of this study is to construct a description of the work and careers of primary school teachers as perceived by teachers themselves. This has been broken down into four research questions that express the research objectives:
What do teachers say about their work?
What are the typical career cycles for Tanzanian primary school teachers?
What are the shared values that influence teachers' practice?
How are teachers' perception of their role and responsibility affected by the expectations of the various parties with whom they interact (i.e. administration, parents, school council, colleagues, students), their awareness of policy, participation in inservice-training and their social and physical working environments?

Literature Review on teachers' perspectives

Research on teachers' perspectives conducted in Anlgophonic Western nations has consistently shown that teachers are committed to and motivated by humanist values (e.g. Nias, 1989; Hargreaves, 1994; Woods & Jeffrey, 2002). This tradition, which can be traced back to the influential European educationalists, Pestalozzi and Froebel, emphasises the development of the whole child, facilitated through interpersonal relationships with teachers. In its English and American form, the

humanist ideology emphasises the inter-personal relationship between the individual teacher and individual child rather than the needs of the class as a *group* of children. Hence, teachers' personality, the engagement of their authentic selves, is vital to their work.

Comparative studies have found that whilst teachers in other parts of Europe share a common humanist tradition with their English speaking colleagues there are significant differences. Whereas American and English teachers place a greater emphasis of the social and affective development of children, their Central-European teachers tend to limit their role to the cognitive development, believing that the family has the responsibility for socialising children (Broadfoot & Osborn, 1993; Alexander, 2000). However, Broadfoot *et al.* (1993) found signs that this was changing in urban areas of France where teachers found that they were increasingly having to compensate for what they saw as a deficit of social discipline in the home. In addition, the humanism of the central Europe is far less individualistic as teachers are more concerned with the *socialisation* of children rather than the social development of the child. In other words, children are expected to learn how to be part of a group. Spindler & Spindler (1993) found in their comparative study of a primary school in Germany and the United States that German teachers were surprised by the degree to which their American colleagues accommodated individualism in their classes. Their responses were echoed by Japanese and Chinese pre-primary teachers in Tobin *et al.*'s (1989) comparative study with the United States. McNess *et al.* (forthcoming) found in Denmark the social aspect of children's development was approached differently again, as one class teacher took responsibility for a single class throughout their schooling, forming relationships also with the students' parents. These are just some examples of the profound cross-national differences that exist between teachers' educational values and pedagogical perspectives.

Whilst research in the West has gained insight into teachers as thinking, feeling, doing, believing human beings (e.g. Nias, 1989; Broadfoot & Osborn, 1993; Hargreaves, 1994), in developing country literature this approach has often obscured by the immediacy and magnitude of financial difficulties. However, there are exceptions. Monk's comments in his literature review on in-service training in Africa turns the tables on the deficit diagnosis of African teachers' skill and knowledge:

> The direction of cause and effect may be reversed. That is, it is not the teachers who chose to act in the classroom setting in which they find themselves, rather, it is the classroom settings that exert selection pressure on which of the strategies in the teacher's pck [pedagogical content knowledge] will survive in the teachers repertoires and which will be extinguished. (Monk, 1999:20).

Guthrie's (1990) arguments, that teachers use traditional teaching techniques because these are the most effective within their context, foreshadow Johnson *et al.*'s (2000) observation that 'professional' teachers require professional environments. The qualitative accounts of Tabulawa (1997) and Harley *et al.* (2000) are realistic assessments of the influence of social contexts on teachers' classroom practice. They not only show how teachers are constrained by the expectations of parents and children but that they themselves belong to the same societies and hence, share some of the traditional values and views (see also Serpell, 1993; Palme, 1999). Similarly, Helu-Thaman (1999) and Stambach (2000) have each argued that teachers in Tonga and Tanzania, respectively, are influenced by conceptualisations of education, which pre-date the introduction of formal schooling.

However, despite these acknowledgements that many, if not all, teachers do the best they can in the schools and classrooms that they have, researchers are only just beginning to listen to teachers' perspectives (e.g. Jessop & Penny, 1998;

Schweisfurth, 1999). This contrasts with two decades of research in the West taking teachers' perspectives and what they say seriously, although the findings of such qualitative research has yet to have a significant influence on policy-making (Rist, 2000). Both Jessop & Penny (1998) and Harley *et al.* (2000) writing from the African context, drew on this tradition, referring to the work of Broadfoot & Osborn (1988; Broadfoot & Osborn, 1993) and concurring that for African as much as European teachers:

> it is the ideology or, to put it another way, the conception of their professional role, which plays the most fundamental part in determining what teachers do. If policy changes ride roughshod over such ideologies, and fail to take them into account, the result is likely to be widespread resentment, a lowering of morale, and, with it, a reduced effectiveness. (Broadfoot & Osborn, 1988)

This project sets out to do for Tanzanian teachers what Broadfoot *et al.* (1993) had done for French and English teachers, that is to discover the views and values that shape their practice. Such an approach will give insight into teachers' common sense knowledge which might not only inform planning and teacher education but lead to a greater respect and understanding of teachers' own potential to lead educational improvement (Rust & Dalin, 1990:321).

Research Design and Methods

This study takes an interpretive research approach which relies on dialogue (through one-to-one and focus group interviews) and detailed observation (through school-based case studies) to interpret and understand the speech, action and views of teachers. Dialogue is viewed as taking place at two levels. Firstly, between the researcher and informants during interviews and secondly, with other researchers through literature reviews and written and verbal presentation of the findings.

The study employs a qualitative research methodology, which may produce relevant and meaningful findings from a small-scale project and are flexible enough to respond to opportunities and obstacles encountered during the fieldwork. This does not mean that the research is not planned but at all times the objectives of the research and ethical responsibilities to participants are prioritised over and above adherence to plans and prepared schedules. The research design is also allows participants to comment on emerging findings through feedback on written reports, at presentations and in discussion groups during the second stage of data collection.

Data collection will be carried out in two stages, each involving a single field trip to Tanzania, the first for conducting one-to-one interviews with teachers and carrying out two school-based case studies; the second for conducting focus group discussions with teachers (see appendix 1 for a time-table). The data produced in the first stage will be fed into the research design for the second stage, making the project flexible and responsive to emerging findings. Data will be analysed qualitatively for recurring and emerging themes and issues. For both stages, the researcher is committed to obtaining a sample of respondents broadly representative of the districts or regions selected for the study with respect to age, gender, length of service and nature of post. Although these are yet to be selected they should not include either Dar es Salaam or Kilimanjaro.

Stage 1: August - October 2002

Two types of data collection methods will be used in the first stage - semi-structured one-to-one interviews and school-based case-studies. The interview schedule will be piloted within the first two weeks of the field visit.

Semi-structured interviews

The semi-structured interviews will be used with a sample of 30 teachers, roughly representative of the regional primary school teacher population with respect to gender, type of posting (rural, semi-urban, urban), length of service, qualifications. The interviews will be up to an hour long and will elicit information on the following:

career biography and aspirations, including the relative importance of their teaching position in terms of income, time commitment, status and self-esteem;

the main influences on practice in and out of classroom, including previous teaching experience, awareness of theory or policy initiatives, socio-economic status and achievement of pupils, administrative support from headteacher and district personnel, relations with other teachers within the school, relations with and expectations of parents;

comparison of present teaching post with previous posts;

the rewards and frustrations of teaching;

anecdotes and opinions on what is considered to be good and bad teaching practice.

Teachers may be asked for descriptions of schools where they have worked and past or present colleagues in order to discover their impressions of how school environment influences their practice and what they regard as good or bad practice. They will be explicitly requested not to provide any names so that individuals and schools are not identifiable. Interviews will be conducted away from the school (e.g. at teachers' homes or local hotels) where there is likely to be more privacy and respondents may feel less inhibited in talking about their experiences and views of the school. For more detail see the interview schedule in Appendix 2.

School Case studies

Case studies will be carried out of two schools. The case studies are intended to aid interpretation of interview data by providing contextual information on teachers' working conditions and practice. Each case-study will include the following data-collection techniques:

half hour meetings with the District Education Officer, head teacher and whole staff near the beginning of the study to negotiate access, expectations and participation and de-briefing meetings towards the end to feedback emerging findings and elicit opinions of the research process;

study of documentary evidence relating to the historical background of the school, communication and support from the district, regional and national administration;

general observation of school and its environment to ascertain teachers' working context;

observation of around four lessons with different teachers followed by half hour interviews with the teachers to elicit their pedagogical objectives and perceptions of student learning;

observation of any staff meetings, school community dialogue meetings, school council meetings etc. that may take place during the visit;

semi-structured interviews with teachers using the schedule described above;

half-hour unstructured focus group interviews with groups of around five pupils, parents or members of school council to elicit information on their expectations of teachers;

around three unstructured half-hour focus group interviews with up to 5 teachers debating topical questions (e.g. what makes a good teacher? What are the responsibilities of a teacher and a school towards the community and individual pupils?).

Observation guidelines have been drawn up, adapted from Crossley & Bennett (1997:232) in advance as a research tool (see Appendix 3).

Findings from the research will be reported back to the school during a visit in stage 2 of the fieldwork and teachers will have a chance to comment on these. A document may also be produced representing the school's history and development in a colourful accessible way, which may be then be used as a learning and teaching resource by the school.

Data Analysis
The data collected during stage 1 will be analysed to identify:
Typical career cycles for Tanzanian primary school teachers;
Recurring themes, issues or 'scripts' which reveal the values that influence the way teachers work;
Teachers' view of educational processes, pedagogy and the purpose of schooling;
The influence of social and institutional context on teachers' practice, morale and perceptions of their students.
Anecdotes, word-pictures and issues which may be suitable topics for focus group discussions in stage 2.

<u>Stage 2</u>
The second period of fieldwork will use around five teachers' focus groups to follow up and explore themes and issues emerging from stage 1, particularly those relating to collectively held values. Anecdotes, word pictures or video clips produced from the stage 1 data will be used to spark focus group discussions. The dynamic format of the focus group can yield information more quickly than a series of individual interviews and allows for a synergistic emergence of ideas, which would be constrained by a more formal interview format (Vaughn *et al.*, 1996). They were used to great effect by TADREG to investigate parents' attitudes and by ?? to elicit teachers' perspectives in Kenya for the purpose of evaluation (e.g. TADREG, 1993). The focus groups should be homogenous with respect to variables such as age or length of service, gender, region, professional status (i.e. teachers, deputy head, headteachers, district personnel etc.), participation in INSET. The number of focus groups and choice of participants will depend on the variables identified for investigation in the exploratory phase. The aims of the focus groups are to hear teachers' views regarding the professional responsibility, the purpose and value of education and their pedagogical reasoning.

Return visits will be made to the case study schools, during which emerging findings of the research will be presented to teachers, who will be able to comment on these. Time will also be allowed during this stage to report findings back to participating district and regional staff, the Ministry of Education and Culture and staff at the Faculty of Education, University of Dar es Salaam. All participants will be invited to comment on the research process, the findings and the researcher's interpretation of these.

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Appendix 1.2: Timetables

Timetable for data collection

Jul - Aug 2002	Preparation of interview schedule	Bristol
Sep - Nov 2002	Data collection - Stage 1	Fieldwork Tanzania
Dec 02 - Mar 03	Analysis of data from stage 1 Preparation of schedules for data collection stage 2	Bristol
Apr - May 2003	Data Collection stage 2	Fieldwork Tanzania
Jun - Jul 2003	Analysis of Data from stage 2	Bristol

Provisional timetable for Stage 1

Sept 14th	Arrive in Dar es Salaam
Sept 16th-28th	Negotiate access and pilot interview schedule with primary teachers in/around Dar es Salaam.
Sept 30th- 12th	Travel to schools to interview teachers
Oct 14th - 19th	First school-based case study
Oct 21st - Nov 2nd	Travel to schools to interview teachers
Nov 4th - 9th	Second school-based case study
Nov 11th - 15th	Feedback emerging findings to staff at FoE, UDASA, MoEC and other interested parties e.g. District & Regional Education Offices involved in the study.

Appendix 1.3: Initial interview schedule

QUESTIONS	PURPOSE
Background - Qualifications - Pre-service & In-service training - Years of service - Why did you become a teacher	Ice-breaker Biography Professional development Motivation
How does this school compare to your previous postings? - Strengths/aspects liked - Weaknesses/aspects disliked - Facilities - Location - Relationships with Students - Relationships with colleagues/headteacher - Relationships with parents/community	Ice-breaker Satisfiers/dissatisfiers Morale boosters Working conditions Physical, social and organisational environment.
How do these factors help/impede your work?	Influence of context on practice.
Who are you accountable/responsible/answerable to? - Prioritise - pupils in class/colleagues & headteacher/parents & community/district & regional educational administration/ nation. - Accountable for what?	Educational values Attitudes to and conceptualisations of work.
What do you expect from others? - From students. - From colleagues/headteacher. - From Educational Officers/administration - Policy - From parents & community	Relations with others. Importance of support from community, colleagues and administration.
What are your objectives/aims as a teacher? - With respect to lesson - With respect to class - With respect to individual student - With respect to school - With respect to community - With respect to nation	Educational values
What are qualities of a good teacher? - Good teachers you know. - Your own strengths and weaknesses. - Who/what influenced you teaching style? (Is teaching style problematic?)	Educational values Conceptualisation of work Critical others, incidents and contextual factors which influence practice.

QUESTIONS	PURPOSE
What do you like about teaching? - Dislike about teaching. - Why do others teachers teach? - Material/status advantages? - What are rewards?	Satisfiers/dissatisfiers. Morale
Has your teaching style changed over time? - Competencies - Attitudes - Values (what you consider important) - Influenced by posting/colleagues/location/community/INSET	Influence of environment and experience on practice.
How important is teaching to you? - How do you supplement your salary? - How much time do you spend at school/on school work? - Are you identified as teacher by community, friends and family? - What would you like to be doing in 2-10 years time? - What do you think you will be doing in the next 2-10 years?	Identity as teacher. of Commitment to teaching. Position of teaching with respect to other commitments, roles and activities.

Appendix 1.4: Introduction to research for DEOs & Oxfam staff

Tanzanian Primary School Teachers' Perceptions of their work

Proposal for Fieldwork in Tanzania for a PhD study by
Angeline Barrett, Graduate School of Education, University of Bristol.
Advisers: Dr. Michael Crossley & Prof. Marilyn Osborn
Contact at the Faculty of Education, University of Dar es Salaam: Dr. Hillary Dachi

Contact: Angeline.Barrett@bristol.ac.uk

Main research question

What collectively held values and contextual factors actively influence the in and out of classroom practice of primary school teachers in Tanzania?

Aim

The aim of this study is to construct a description of the work and careers of primary school teachers as perceived by teachers themselves.

Rationale

Educational researchers from diverse countries are convinced that teaching is a value-based profession (Dalin, 1990:242) and policy directives are necessarily mediated through the filter of teachers' values (Osborn *et al.*, 2000). It is also widely recognised that teachers as practitioners have "knowledge-in-action" (Connolly & Clandinin, 1995) i.e. practical knowledge gained through experience. Teacher research in developing countries has only recently started to listen to teachers and take what they say seriously (e.g. Jessop & Penny, 1998; Akyeampong & Stephens, 2002). For a long time it was commonly assumed, on the basis of Beeby's (1966) theory of stages of stages of development, that there is little educational researchers can learn from teachers who are at the lower stages of development. However, some researchers, most notable amongst them Guthrie (e.g. 1990) have maintained that teachers, whatever their level of qualification make rational pedagogical decisions given the constraints and contexts within which they work. Recent interest has largely arisen from the recognition that teacher education and curriculum development initiatives have to start from teachers current working conditions and understanding of educational processes, and not just from the sophisticated models of experts, if they are to be successful (O'Sullivan, 2002). Hence, it is considered essential that researchers and policy-makers listen to teachers' experiences and perspectives in order to design feasible and relevant strategies for educational improvement.

To date, there has been little research in Tanzania privileging teachers' perspectives and practitioner knowledge, which might inform the ongoing process of policy formulation currently being undertaken by the Education Sector Development Programme. Through interviewing and, more importantly, listening to teachers, together with detailed observation of their working conditions and practice this study aims to make the knowledge, values and views of practicing teachers accessible to the national and international academic community and policy-makers.

Research Approach

This study takes an hermeneutic/interpretive research approach which regards the purpose of research not as arriving at definitive answers but rather as a dialogic process of improving understanding. During data collection the dialogue is between researcher and teachers. In writing-up and presentation, the dialogue is with other researchers and their published work, hence contributing to current debate (e.g. Alphonce, 1993, 1999) and future research on teachers' work and professionalism. More specifically, the research study should contribute to and strengthen the existing link between the Faculty of Education at the University of Dar es Salaam and the Graduate School of Education at the University of Bristol.

The study employs a qualitative research methodology, which has the advantage of being flexible enough to respond to opportunities and obstacles encountered during the fieldwork. This does not mean that the research is not planned but at all times the objectives of the research and ethical responsibilities to participants are prioritised over and above adherence to plans and prepared schedules.

Main Research Questions

1. What do teachers say about their work?
2. What are the typical career cycles for Tanzanian primary school teachers?
3. What are the shared values that influence teachers' practice?
4. How are teachers' perception of their role and responsibility affected by the expectations of the various parties with whom they interact (i.e. administration, parents, school council, colleagues, students) and their social and physical working environments?

Data Collection

Data collection will be carried out in two stages during two separate field trips. The data produced in the first stage will be fed into the research design for the second stage, making the project flexible and responsive to emerging findings. Data will be analysed qualitatively for recurring and emerging themes and issues. For both stages, the researcher is committed to obtaining a sample of respondents broadly representative of the districts or regions selected for the study with respect to age, gender, length of service and nature of post. Although these are yet to be selected they should not include either Dar es Salaam or Kilimanjaro.

<u>Stage 1: August - October 2002</u>

Two types of data collection methods will be used in the first stage - semi-structured one-to-one interviews and school-based case-studies. The interview schedule will be piloted within the first two weeks of the field visit.

Semi-structured interviews

The semi-structured interviews will be used with a sample of 30 teachers, roughly representative of the regional primary school teacher population with respect to gender, type of posting (rural village, semi-urban, urban), length of service, qualifications. The interviews will be up to an hour long and will elicit information on the following:

(i) career biography and aspirations, including the relative importance of their teaching position in terms of income, time commitment, status and self-esteem;

(ii) the main influences on practice in and out of classroom, including socio-economic status and achievement of pupils, administrative support from headteacher and district personnel, relations with other teachers within the school, relations with and expectations of parents;

(iii) comparison of present teaching post with previous posts;
(iv) the rewards and frustrations of teaching;
(v) anecdotes and opinions on what is considered to be good and bad teaching practice.

Teachers may be asked for descriptions of schools where they have worked and past or present colleagues in order to discover their impressions of how school environment influences their practice and what they regard as good or bad practice. They will be explicitly requested not to provide any names so that individuals and schools are not identifiable. Interviews will be conducted away from the school (e.g. at teachers' homes or local hotels) where there is likely to be more privacy from other members of staff or pupils and respondents may feel less inhibited in talking about their experiences and views of the school. For more information see the interview schedule attached.

School Case studies

Case studies will be carried out of two schools. The case studies are intended to aid interpretation of interview data by providing contextual information on teachers' working conditions and practice. Each case-study will include the following data-collection techniques:

(i) two unstructured interviews with the District Education Officer, the first to negotiate access and elicit information on how s/he considers this school to compare with other schools within the district in terms of facilities, achievement and socio-economic status of pupils and historical development of the school; the second to feedback emerging findings, elicit her/his response to these and perceptions of the research process;
(ii) two unstructured interviews with the headteacher, the first, at the beginning of the case study to negotiate access, expectations and participation during the case study and elicit information on the historical background of the school and her/his perception of how it compares to other schools s/he has worked; the second interview at the end of the study to feedback emerging findings, to elicit her/his response to these and perceptions of the research process;
(iii) two meetings with the whole staff. The first at the beginning of the study to negotiate access, expectations and participation and the last at the end to feedback emerging findings and elicit their response to these and perceptions of the research process;
(iv) study of documentary evidence relating to the historical background to the school, communication and support from the district, regional and national administration, staff participation in development training and programmes;
(v) general observation of school environment, content of noticeboards, teacher resources, buildings and furniture to ascertain teachers' working conditions;
(vi) observation of social environment to provide contextual data on school and lives of teachers, including the size and type of community it serves, additional income-generating activities available to teachers, type of housing available to teachers, state of communications and transport infrastructure;
(vii) observation of four lessons with four different teachers (depending on number of teachers working at the school) followed by half hour interviews with the teachers to elicit their pedagogical objectives, perceptions of the learning outcomes of lesson and views concerning achievement, potential and character of students to give insight into teachers' understanding of the educational process;
(viii) observation of any staff meetings, school community dialogue meetings, school council meetings etc. that may take place during the visit;
(ix) semi-structured interviews with teachers using the schedule described above;
(x) two half-hour unstructured focus group interviews with pupils (~5) to elicit information on their expectations of teachers;

(xi) two half hour unstructured focus group interviews with parents (~5) to elicit information on their expectations of teachers;

(xii) unstructured half-hour focus group interviews with members of the school council to elicit information on their expectations of teachers;

(xiii) three unstructured half-hour focus group interviews with up to 5 teachers looking at debating topical questions (e.g. what makes a good teacher? What are the responsibilities of a teacher and a school towards the community and individual pupils?);

(xiv) informal conversations with teachers, parents and pupils in and around the school compound;

Findings from the research will be reported back to the school during a visit in stage 2 of the fieldwork and teachers will have a chance to comment on these. A document may also be produced representing the school's history and development in a colourful accessible way which may be then be used as a learning and teaching resource by the school.

Data Analysis

The data collected during stage 1 will be analysed to identify:

1. Typical career cycles for Tanzanian primary school teachers.
2. Recurring themes, issues or 'scripts' which reveal the values that influence the way teachers work.
3. Teachers' view of educational processes, pedagogy and the purpose of schooling.
4. The influence of social and institutional context on teachers' practice, moral and perceptions of their students.
5. Anecdotes, word-pictures and issues which may be suitable topics for focus group discussions in stage 2.

<u>Stage 2:</u>

The second period of fieldwork will use teachers' focus groups to follow up and explore themes and issues emerging from stage 1, particularly those relating to collectively held values. Anecdotes, word pictures or video clips produced from the stage 1 data will be used to spark focus group discussions.

Return visits will be made to the case study schools, during which emerging findings of the research will be presented to teachers, who will be able to comment these. Time will also be allowed during this stage to report findings back to participating district and regional staff, the Ministry of Education and Culture and staff at the Faculty of Education, University of Dar es Salaam. All participants will be invited to comment on the research process, the findings and the researcher's interpretation of these.

Timetable for data collection

Jul - Aug 2002	Preparation of interview schedule Begin negotiation of access	Bristol
Sep - Nov 2002	Data collection - Stage 1	Fieldwork Tanzania
Dec 02 - Mar 03	Analysis of data from stage 1 Preparation of schedules for data collection stage 2	Bristol
Apr - May 2003	Data Collection stage 2	Fieldwork Tanzania
Jun - Jul 2003	Analysis of Data from stage 2	Bristol

Provisional time-table for Stage 1

Sept 14th	Arrive in Dar es Salaam
Sept 16th-28th	Negotiate access and pilot interview schedule with primary teachers in/around Dar es Salaam.
Sept 30th- 12th	Travel to schools to interview teachers
Oct 14th - 19th	First school-based case study
Oct 21st - Nov 2nd	Travel to schools to interview teachers
Nov 4th - 9th	Second school-based case study
Nov 11th - 15th	Feedback emerging findings to staff at FoE, UDASA, MoEC and other interested parties e.g. District & Regional Education Offices involved in study.

About the researcher

Angeline Barrett has practiced as a teacher in Secondary schools and Further Education colleges in England and as a secondary school teacher in Uganda and Tanzania. Her link with Tanzania dates back to 1996 when she took up a position as a VSO (Volunteer Service Overseas) volunteer teacher at Nganza High School near Mwanza. From there she moved to Shaaban Robert Secondary School in Dar es Salaam, where she taught in the Physics department. Since returning to England in 2000 she has obtained a Masters in Education, specialising in International Educaitonal Management, from Leeds University, where she became interested in the quality and management of primary education. She commenced her PhD studies at the University of Bristol in October 2000.

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Appendix 1.5: Document introducing research to schools

Mitazamo ya Walimu wa Shule za Msingi Tanzania kuhusu Kazi yao

Maelezo kwa kifupi ya Utafiti kwa ajili ya kusoma PhD.

Jina la mtafiti: Angeline Barrett
Mwanafunzi wa PhD kwa Chuo Kikuu cha Bristol, Uingereza.

Malengo ya Utafiti

Kugundua mazingira ya kazi na mitazamo ya walimu wa shule za msingi Tanzania kuhusu kazi ya ualimu.

Umuhimu wa utafiti.

Siku hizi, kuna miradi mingi ya kuendeleza walimu katika nchi ya Tanzania, inayofathiliwa na serikali na pia wafathili kutoka nchi za nje. Lakini, matokea ya tafiti nyingi zinazofanyika katika nchi za Ulaya na pia Afrika, yanaonyesha kwamba ni muhimu kuzingatia mitazamo na mazingira ya kazi ya walimu wenyewe. Na pia, tafiti nyingine zinaonyesha kwamba mitazamo ya walimu wa nchi mbali mbali inatofautiana sana. Kwa hiyo katika mipango ya sera ni muhimu kuzingatia walimu wenyewe wana mitazamo gani kuhusu kazi zao na jinsi kufundisha.

Mpangilio wa Utafiti

Utafiti huu utafanyika katika mikoa miwili, Shinyanga na Pwani. Na kwa kila mkoa zitachaguliwa wilaya mbili. Utafiti huu una sehemu tatu.

1. Mahojiano na walimu kumi katika kila wilaya, kwa muda wa saa moja.

2. Mtafiti atakaa kwa wiki katika shule moja kwa kila mkoa kuangalia mazingira na shughuli za shule. Katilka kipindi hicho ataangalia ufundishaji darasani wa walimu watano. Baada ya hapo mtafiti ataongea na walimu kuhusu ufundishaji wao. Pia mtafiti ataongea na mwalimu mkuu, walimu, wanafunzi na wazazi. Kwa jinsi hiyo atagundua watu wengine wanategemea nini kutoka kwa walimu na mambo yanoyoathiri ufundishaji.

3. Baada ya kuchambua matokea kutoka shughuli hizo, mtafiti atarudi tena katika maeneo ya utafiti mwezi wa nne 2003 na atakaribisha walimu wanowotaka kuchangia mawazo yao kuhusu matokea ya utafiti.

Kujulisha matokea

Washiriki wote wa utafiti huu watajulishwa matokea katika hatua hizo, na wanapopewa haya matokea watakaribishwa kutoa maoni yao kwa njia ya barua.

Transcript of Appendix 1.5

Tanzanian Primary School Teachers' Perceptions of their Work

A Brief Introduction to Ph.D. Research

Researcher: Angeline Barrett
Ph.D. student, University of Bristol, UK.

Research Aim

To explore the working context of primary school teachers in Tanzania and their perceptions of their work.

Purpose of Research

These days, there are many projects aimed at improving teachers in Tanzania, which are sponsored by the government and also donor agencies from other countries. However, research carried in Europe and also Africa has shown the importance of taking into account the perceptions and working context of teachers. Research has also shown that there is much variation in the perceptions of teachers from different countries. Therefore it is important that policy consider the perceptions of teachers themselves concerning their work and ways to teach.

Research Design

The research will be carried out in two Regions, Shinyanga and Pwani. Two districts will be chosen in each Region. The research has three elements.

1. One hour interviews with ten teachers from each district.

2. The researcher will stay for one week in one school from each Region to observe the environment and activities of the school. During this time, she will observe five teachers' classroom teaching, after which she will talk to the teachers about their teaching. She will also talk to the headteachers, teachers, pupils and parents. By these means she will discover what other people expect from teachers and factors effecting teachers' work.

3. Following analysis of the data from these activities, the research will return to the same areas in April 2003 and will invite those teachers, who are interested, to comment on her findings.

Dissemination of Findings

All participants in the research will be informed of the findings arising from the activities above and will be invited to comment on them by post.

Appendix 1.6: Brief introduction to stage 2 of research

Mitazamo ya Walimu wa Shule za Msingi Tanzania kuhusu Kazi yao.

Maelezo kwa kifupi ya Utafiti kwa ajili ya kusomea Shahada ya Juu ya Udaktari (PhD.)

Jina la mtafiti: Angeline Barrett
Mwanafunzi wa PhD katika Chuo Kikuu cha Bristol, Uingereza.

Malengo ya Utafiti:

1. Kugundua mitazamo ya walimu wa shule za msingi Tanzania kuhusu kazi ya ualimu na jinsi ambavyo mitazamo inavyotegemea na mazingira yao.
2. Kulinganisha na mitazamo ya walimu waingereza na dhana ya 'professionalism', kama inavyoelezwa katika vitabu vya taaluma.

Umuhimu wa utafiti.

Siku hizi, kuna miradi mingi ya kuendeleza walimu katika nchi ya Tanzania, inayofadhiliwa na Serikali na pia wafadhili kutoka nchi za nje. Lakini, matokeo ya tafiti nyingi zinazofanyika katika nchi za Ulaya na pia Afrika, yanaonyesha kwamba ni muhimu kuzingatia mitazamo na mazingira ya kazi ya walimu wenyewe. Na pia, tafiti nyingine zinaonyesha kwamba mitazamo ya walimu wa nchi mbali mbali inatofautiana sana. Kwa hiyo katika mipango ya sera ni muhimu kuzingatia walimu wenyewe wana mitazamo gani kuhusu kazi zao na jinsi ya kufundisha.

Mpangilio wa Utafiti

Kazi hii ya Utafiti na ukusanyaji takwimu [Fieldwork/data collection] inafanyika katika mikoa miwili ya Shinyanga(wilaya ya Shinyanga vijijini na Manispaa ya Shinyanga), na Pwani (wilaya ya Kibaha- Kibaha Mji Mdogo na Mkuranga). Aidha utafiti huu unafanyika katika awamu mbili, ya kwanza ilikuwa Oktoba - Novemba, 2002 na ya pili April - Mei, 2003. Katika safari ya kwanza, shughulli zifuatazo zilifanyika:

4. Mahojiano na walimu 34 wa shule za msingi.
5. Mtafiti alikaa kwa wiki katika shule mbili kwa ajili ya kujifahamisha na mazingira na shughuli za kawaida za shule za msingi Tanzania.

Katika safari ya pili, shughuli zifuatazo zitafanyika:

1. 'Case study' ya walimu watatu. Mtafiti atahojiana na kila mwalimu na atayaangalia masomo yake na shughuli zake shuleni kwa muda wa siku mbili au tatu.
2. Kuandaa majadiliano 4 katika kila mkoa itakayohusisha washiriki kati ya 4-12. Katika majadiliano haya, mtafiti atawasilisha matokeo ya kazi ya awamu ya kwanza ya utafiti na kuwakaribisha washiriki kuchangia na kujadili matokeo hayo. Majadiliano hayo yatarekodiwa kwa ajili ya matokeo ya mwisho kabisa ya utafiti.

   Washiriki wa majadiliano watatofautiana kutoka mkoa na mkoa, lakini itakuwepo moja itakayohusisha Maafisa Elimu wa wilaya, Walimu Wakuu na Walimu wa kawaida.

Kujulishwa matokeo:

Baada ya muda wa miezi michache washiriki wa utafiti huu watapewa ripoti fupi ya kiSwahili na Afisa Elimu Wilaya atapelekewa nakala ya Utafiti.

Transcript of Appendix 1.6

Tanzanian Primary School Teachers' Perceptions of their Work

Brief explanation of Ph.D. research

Researcher: Angeline Barrett
Ph.D. student, University of Bristol, UK

Research Objectives:

1. To discover Tanzanian primary school teachers' perceptions of their work and how these are influenced by their context.
2. To compare these with English teachers' perceptions and notions of professionalism to be found in academic literature.

Purpose of Research

These days, there are many projects aimed at improving teachers in Tanzania, which are sponsored by the government and also donor agencies from other countries. However, research carried in Europe and also Africa has shown the importance of taking into account the perceptions and working context of teachers. Research has also shown that there is much variation in the perceptions of teachers from different countries. Therefore, it is important that policy consider the perceptions of teachers themselves concerning their work and ways to teach.

Research Design

Data collection is being carried out in the two Regions of Shinyanga (the Districts of Shinyanga Rural and Shinyanga Municipality) and Coast (the Districts of Kibaha, Kibaha Town and Mkuranga). This research is being carried out in two stages, the first was in October-November 2002 and the second is April – May 2003. During the first visit, the following activities were carried out:

1. Interviews with 34 primary school teachers;
2. The researcher stayed for one week in each of two schools in order to familiarise herself with the context and normal activities of primary schools in Tanzania.

During the second visit, the following activities will be carried out:

1. A case study of three teachers. The researcher will interview each teacher and will observe their lessons and activities at school for a period of two or three days;
2. To prepare four discussion meetings in each Region each with 4 – 12 participants. In these discussion meetings the researcher will present the findings from the first stage of the research and will invite participants to comment and discuss these. The discussions will be recorded in order to contribute towards the final findings.

   Participants in the discussion meetings will vary from region to region, but DEOs, headteachers and teachers will be involved.

Dissemination of findings:

After a few months, participants in the research will be given a short report in Swahili and DEOs will be sent a copy of the research.

Appendix 1.7: Brief explanation for focus teachers

'Case Study' ya Mwalimu Mmoja

Utangulizi.

Mimi Angeline Barrett, ni mwanafunzi wa Shahada ya Juu ya Udaktari (PhD) kutoka Idara ya Elimu Chuo Kikuu cha Bristol, Uingereza. Kwa hiyo nafanya utafiti kuhusu "Mitazamo ya walimu wa shule za msingi Tanzania, kuhusu kazi zao". Katika huu utafiti ninatarajia kufanya 'Case Studies' tatu za mwalimu mmoja mmoja. Karatasi hii inaelezea mpango wa 'case studies' hizo.

Malengo ya Utafiti kwa Jumla

3. Kugundua mitazamo ya walimu wa shule za msingi Tanzania kuhusu kazi ya ualimu na jinsi ambavyo mitazamo inategemea mazingira yao;
4. Kulinganisha na mitazamo ya walimu waingereza na dhana ya 'professionalism', kama inavyolezwa katika vitabu vya taaluma.

Malengo ya Case Studies za Mwalimu Mmoja Mmoja

Katika nchi zote duniani kazi za walimu zinafanana, lakini bado mitazamo ya walimu inatofautiana sana kuhusu malengo ya elimu ya msingi, jinsi ya kufundisha, uhusiano unaotakiwa kati ya mwalimu na wanafunzi wake, wajibu na maadili ya walimu n.k. Mara nyingi hii inasababishwa na mazingira ya shule, mipango ya elimu nchini na utamaduni. Kwa hiyo katika mipango ya sera ni muhimu kuzingatia mitazamo ya walimu kuhusu kazi zao.

Aidha, hata katika nchi moja, mkoa mmoja, hata shule moja mitazamo ya walimu inatofautiana. Kila mwalimu ana mtazamo wake na ufundishaji wake. Hii hutegemewa na tabia yake, mazingira yake, uzoefu wake shuleni alipokuwa mtoto, uzoefu kazini n.k. Kwa hiyo lengo la 'case studies' za mwalimu mmoja mmoja ni kugundua tabia, mitazamo na uzoefu wa walimu mbalimbali Tanzania na vitu gani vinasababisha abadili mwelekeo na maoni ya kazi yake. Nimechagua walimu watatu ambao niliwahi kuwahoji katika sehemu ya kwanza ya utafiti, uliofanyika Oktoba na Novemba mwaka jana, ambao pamoja wanaweza kuonyesha kuwepo kwa mitazamo ya walimu mbalimbali Tanzania.

Mpango wa Case Study ya Mwalimu Mmoja

Suala la masomo kutakuwa na vipindi vitatu na mahojiano manne kwa siku mbili. Tafadhali usiandae somo maalum lakini fundisha kama kawaida na hakuna haja ya kunionyesha masomo uliyoyapanga kufundisha.

Kutakuwa na mahojiano ya aina mbili, yatakayofanyika shuleni mara baada ya masomo. Na katika mahojiano hayo kutazungumziwa mada zifuatazo;

Malengo ya vipindi;
Njia za kufundishia/kujifunzia;
Tabia ya darasa;
Wanafunzi na mazingira ya shule;

Mahojiano mengine yatafanyika mbali na shule, yanaweza kufanyika majumbani au sehemu yoyote ambayo utapendelea kuichagua. Na katika mahojiano hayo tutazungumzia mada zifuatazo:

Uzoefu wako kama mwanafunzi kuhusu kazi ya ualimu wa shule;
Uzoefu wako kama mwalimu kuhusu kazi ya ualimu wa shule;
Kwa vipi mwelekeo wao katika ufundishaji inategemea historia yao;

Maoni yako kwa jamii na jinsi gani yanaweza kujenga uzoefu wa ufundishaji wako;
Kwa watu unaofanya nao kazi na kwa namna gani yanaweza kujenga uzoefu wa
tabia ya kazi.

Kama una mawazo mengine yanayohusu ni jinsi gani ungependa kuwasilisha kazi zako
(mfano kupiga picha sehemu unayofanya kazi), tafadhali jisikie huru kutoa maoni yako.

Mwenendo wa Utafiti

Kama utakubaliana na mimi, nitayarekodi masomo na mazungumzo yote tunayozungumza ili baadae niweze kupitia tena. Hii inanisaidia mimi kama sielewi neno lolote la kiswahili kwani hii ni mara yangu ya kwanza..

Maadili ya Utafiti

Si lazima kujua utambulisho wako na watu watakaohusika katika utafiti. Katika kuwasilisha mada sitataja shule unayofundishia na jina lako.

Ni mimi peke yangu ambaye nitasikiliza katika kila kanda tuliyorekodi wakati wa mahojiano tulioyafanya. Watu wengine wanaweza kusikiliza kanda hiyo ya masomo tuliyoirekodi isipokuwa kwa ridhaa yako.

Nitakupa nakala ya makala inayokuhusu wewe. Pia, kama inawezakana nitakupa kabla haijapatikana kwa watu wengine ili utoe maoni yako. Hata hivyo siwezi kutaja jina lako bila kupata idhini yako.

WASILIANA:

Angeline Barrett
G22, 8-10 Berkeley Square
Graduate School of Education
BRISTOL
BS8 1HH
UK

e-mail: Angeline.Barrett@bris.ac.uk

simu: 0744 760858

Transcript of Appendix 1.7

'Case Study' of a teacher

Introduction

I am Angeline Barrett, a Ph.D. student at the University of Bristol, UK. I am researching "Tanzanian primary school teachers' perceptions of their work". As part of this research, I plan to do three 'case studies' of individual teachers. This document explains the design of these case studies.

Objectives of the overall research project

1. To discover Tanzanian primary school teachers' perceptions of their work and how these are influenced by their context;

2. To compare these with English teachers' perceptions and notions of professionalism to be found in academic literature.

Objectives of the teacher case studies

Teachers' work resembles throughout the world but still teachers' views vary greatly on educational purpose, how to teach, relations between teachers and pupils, teachers' responsibilities and ethics etc. Sometimes this is because of the school context, the national organisation of education and culture. Therefore, it is important that policy take into account teachers' perceptions of their work.

Also, even within one country, region or even school, perceptions of teachers differ. Each teacher has his or her own perspective and style of teaching. This depends on his or her personality, environment, experience of school as a child, work experience etc. Therefore the objective of the teacher case studies is to explore the characteristics, perceptions and experience of various Tanzanian teachers and the things that effect their views of their work. I have chosen three teachers, who I interviewed during the first stage of research between October and November last year. Together they can illustrate the perceptions of various Tanzanian teachers.

Design of teacher case study

The research will consist of observation of three periods and four interviews conducted over two days. Please do not prepare a special lesson but teach as usual and there is no need to show a lesson plan.

There will be two types of interviews, which will be carried out at the school after the lessons. In these interviews we will talk about the following topics:

Lesson objectives
Teaching-learning strategies;
Characteristics of the class;
Students and the school environment.

Other interviews will be carried out away form the school, they may be carried out at your home or wherever you prefer. In these interviews, we will talk about the following topics:

Your experience of teaching as a pupil/student;
Your experience of teaching as a teacher;
How your approach to teaching is influenced by your history;
Your views of society and how it can contribute towards your experience of teaching;

Your colleagues and how they contribute towards your experience of teaching.

If there are any other ways in which you would like to communicate about your work (for example, taking pictures of places where you work), please feel free to tell me your ideas.

Research process

If you are agreeable I will record the lessons and our conversations so that later I can pass through them again. This helps me if I fail to understand any word of Swahili, as it is not my first language.

Research ethics

It is not necessary for your identity to be known. In any presentation of the material, I will not mention the school where you teach and your name.

I am the only person who will listen to the tape recording of the interviews. Others may listen to the recording of the lesson with your agreement.

I will send you a copy of any article, which concerns you. Also, if possible, I will give it to you before it is made available to others so that you can comment. Alll the same, I will not mention your name without your permission.

Angeline Barrett

G22, 8-10 Berkeley Square
Graduate School of Education
BRISTOL
BS8 1HH
UK

e-mail: Angeline.Barrett@bris.ac.uk

simu: 0744 760858

Appendix 1.8: Letter to regions from COSTECH

TANZANIA COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
(COSTECH)

Telegrams: COSTECH
Telephones: (255 - 51) 75155 - 6, 700745-6
Director General: (255 - 51) 700750 & 75315
Fax: (255 - 51) 75313
Telex: 41177 UTAFTI
E-M: Relearance@costech.or.tz

Ali Hassan Mwinyi Road
P.O. Box 4302
Dar es Salaam
Tanzania

In reply please quote: **CST/RCA 2002/111/4080/2002** **26th September 2002**

Director of Immigration Services
Ministry of Home Affairs
P.O. Box 512
DAR ES SALAAM

Dear Sir/Madam,

RESEARCH PERMIT

We wish to introduce to you **Angeline Esabeth Barett** from **UK** who has been granted a research permit **No. 2002 – 340–NA- 2002-111** dated **26th September 2002**

The permit allows him/her to do research in the country entitled: **"Tanzania Primary School Teachers Perceptions of their Work"**

We would like to support the application of the researcher(s) for the appropriate immigration status to enable the scholar(s) begin research as soon as possible.

By copy of this letter, we are requesting regional authorities and other relevant institutions to accord the researcher(s) all the necessary assistance. Similarly the designated local contact is requested to assist the researcher(s).

Yours faithfully,

H.P. Gideon
for: DIRECTOR GENERAL

CC: 1. Regional Administrative Secretary: **Morogoro, Coast, Shinyanga and Dar es Salaam**
2. Local contact: **Dr. H. A. Dachi, Department of education Planning and Administration, university of Dar es Salaam, P.O. Box 35048, Dar es Salaam.**
3. Co-researcher: **None**

Appendix 1.9: Example of letter from region to districts

Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania

OFISI YA RAIS
TAWALA ZA MIKOA NA SERIKALI ZA MITAA

MKOA WA PWANI:
Anw.ya Simu **"REGCOM PWANI"**
Simu Na. 023-2402287.
Fax Na. 023-2402250.
E-Mail regcomcoast@africaonline.co.tz
Unapojibu tafadhali taja:

OFISI YA MKUU WA MKOA,

S.L.P. 30080,

KIBAHA.

Kumb. Nambari: CR/I.40/30/Vol.II/239. 4 October, 2002

Katibu Tawala wa Wilaya,
Ofisi ya Mkuu wa Wilaya,
S.L.P. 30175,
KIBAHA.

Katibu Tawala wa Wilaya,
Ofisi ya Mkuu wa Wilaya,
S.L.P. 1,
MKURANGA.

YAH: "RESEARCH PERMIT"

Tafadhali husikeni na kivuli (photocopy) cha barua Na. CST/RCA.2002/111/4080/2002 ya tarehe 26 Septemba, 2002 kutoka COSTECH ambayo inajieleza yenyewe.

Bi. Angeline Esbeth Barett kutoka U.K. anakuja kufanya utafiti unaohusu **"Tanzania Primary School Teachers Perceptions of their Work"** katika Wilaya zenu. Kibali chake Nchini kinaanzia tarehe 26 Septemba, 2002 hadi 25 Septemba, 2003.

Tunaomba mumpe msaada na ushirikiano unaohitajika ili kufanikisha Utafiti huo.

(E. B. Mcha)
KAIMU KATIBU TAWALA WA MKOA
MKOA WA PWANI

1

Nakala: Afisa Uhamiaji wa Mkoa, - Kwa taarifa
Mkoa wa Pwani,
S.L.P. 30109,
KIBAHA.

Mkurugenzi Mtendaji,
Halmashauri ya Wilaya,
S.L.P. 30153,
KIBAHA.

Mkurugenzi wa Mji,
Mji Mdogo wa Kibaha,
S.L.P. 30153,
KIBAHA.

Mkurugenzi Mtendaji,
Halmashauri ya Wilaya,
S.L.P. 10,
MKURANGA.

Bi. Angeline Esbeth Barett,
Safarini Kibaha.

Transcript of Appendix 1.9

United Republic of Tanzania
President's Office
Department of Regional and Local Government

From: Regional Commissioner's Office
Kibaha

4 October 2002

To: District Administrative Secretary
District Commissioner's Office
Kibaha

District Administrative Secretary
District Commissioner's Office
Mkuranga

Re: "<u>Research Permit</u>"

Please refer to the photocopy of letter no. CST/RCA.2002/111/4080/2002 dated 26 September 2002 from COSTECH which is self-explanatory.

Ms. Angeline Barrett from UK is coming to do research concerning "Tanzanian primary school teachers' perceptions of their work", in your districts. Her permit runs from 26 September, 2002 up to 25 September 2003.

We request you give her whatever assistance and cooperation is necessary for this research to be carried out.

Signed: Acting Regional Administrative Secretary

Cc: Regional Immigration Officer
District Commissioner, Kibaha District
District Commissioner, Kibaha Town Council
District Commissioner, Mkuranga
Ms. Angeline Barrett

Appendix 1.10: Example letter from district to schools

MAMLAKA YA MJI MDOGO KIBAHA

Idara ya Elimu,
S.L.P 30112,
Kibaha

01/11/2002

Kumb.Na. MMK/ED./E10/35/2

Walimu Wakuu
Shule za Msingi:-
- [redacted]
-
-

KIBAHA.

YAH: RUHUSA KWA BI ANGELINE ESBETH BARETT KUFANYA UTAFITI KATIKA SHULE ZA [redacted], [redacted] NA [redacted].

Husika na somo la hapo juu.

Nawataarifu kuwa mtaja hapo juu ni mtafiti kutoka Uingereza ambaye ameruhusiwa kuja katika shule zenu kufanya utafiti uitwao "TANZANIA PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHERS PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR WORK" unaosimamiwa na Tume ya Sayansi na Teknolojia –Tanzania.

Mtafiti huyo ameruhusiwa kufanya kazi hiyo katika shule zenu hadi tarehe 25/09/2003.

Tafadhali mpatieni kila aina ya msaada ili aweze kufanikisha kazi hiyo muhimu kitaifa.

Nawatakia ushirikiano mzuri.

H. Mumba.
Afisa elimu wa Mji Mdogo
Kibaha.

Nakala: Mkuu wa Wilaya: Barua yako Kumb. Na. KIB/E.20/21/253
S.L.P 30175,
Kibaha.

" Mkurugenzi wa Mji,
Mamlaka ya Mji Mdogo,
S.L.P 30112,
Kibaha.

" Katibu tarafa,
Kibaha.

" Katibu Tarafa
MLANDIZI.

Transcript of Appendix 1.10

Kibaha Town Council

District Education Office
Kibaha

01/11/2002

To: Headteachers
….., ….. & ……. primary school
Kibaha

Re: <u>Permission for Ms. Angeline Barrett to do research in ….., ….. & ….. School</u>

With reference to the subject above.

I am informing you that the person named above is a researcher from England who had been permitted to come to your schools to do research called, "TANZANIAN PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHERS' PERCETIONS OF THEIR WORK", which is overseen by the Commission of Science and Technology, Tanzania.

This researcher is permitted to work in your schools up to 25/09/2003.

Please give her whatever kind of assistance will enable her to complete this work for the benefit of the nation.

I wish you good cooperation,

Signed: District Education Officer
Kibaha

cc. District Commissioner, Kibaha
Divisional Secretary, Kibaha
Divisional Secretary, Mlandizi

Appendix 1.11: Example letter to DEOs introducing stage 2

Angeline Barrett
G22, 8-10, Berkeley Square
BRISTOL
BS1 8JA
UK

14th April 2003.

Afisa elimu wa Mji Mdogo,
S.L.P. 30112
Kibaha-Pwani

YAH: KUENDELEA NA UTAFITI WA Ph.D.

Nilianza kazi ya Utafiti katika wilaya yako tangu Novemba 2002, kwa kibali cha barua yenye Kumbukumbu Na.KIB/E.2021/253 kutoka kwa Mkuu wa Wilaya. Ninakushukuru sana kwa ushirikiano wako katika awamu ya kwanza ya Utafiti. Utafiti huu unafanyikiwa kwa ajiri ya kusomea shahada ya juu ya udoktari (Ph.D.), na ni kuhusu "Mitazamo ya walimu wa shule za Msingi Tanzania kuhusu kazi zao". Katika awamu ya kwanza, niliwahoji walimu sita katika Wilaya ya Kibaha Mji Mdogo, wawili kutoka ....., ... na ..... Shule za Msingi. Mahojiano mengine yalifanikiwa katika Wilaya nyingine za Pwani na Mkoa wa Shinyanga.

Katika awamu hii ya pili ya Utafiti, ningependelea kuendelea kupata ushirikiano mzuri kutoka kwako katika shughuli zifuatazo ninazotarajia kuzifanya.

1.Kuendesha warsha ndogo na walimu (4-6) na walimu wakuu (3-6) wa Shule wa mbalimbali. Wanaweza kutoka shule ambazo awamu ya kwanza ya utafiti huu ilifanyikiwa au kama hii itakuwa ngumu, kutoka shule nyingine.

2. Kuendesha warsha ndogo nyingine na Afisa Elimu wa Wilaya pamoja na Wakaguzi wa Shule za Msingi. (Washiriki ni lazima wawe kati ya 4-6).

Washiriki wengine wanaweza kutoka Wilaya hii na wengine kutoka Wilaya ya Kibaha. Kila warsha itachukua muda ya masaa mawili.

Madhumuni ya warsha hizi ni kuwasilisha matokeo ya Utafiti uliofanyika katika wilaya za Mkuranga, Kibaha na Shinyanga mwaka jana, aidha washiriki wataikosoa na kujadili yatakayojitokeza katika utafiti huu. Majadiliano yatarekodiwa kwa ajili ya kupata matokeo mazuri zaidi ya mwisho ya utafiti.

Warsha nitazigharamia na ningependelea zifanikiwe kati ya tarehe 28 April na 18 Mei 2003.

Angeline Barrett
PhD Research Student, Graduate School of Education, University of Bristol

Transcript of Appendix 1.11

From: Angeline Barrett

14th April 2003

To: District Education Officer
Kibaha, Pwani

Re: Continuation of PhD Research

I began doing research in your district in Nobemver 2003 with permission granted by letter reference no: KIB/E.2021/253 from the District Commissioner. I would like to thank you for your cooperation during the first stage of the research. This research was undertaken towards a PhD and concerns "Tanzanian primary school teachers' perceptions of their work". During the first stage I interviewed six teachers from Kibaha Town District, two each from ....., ... and ..... Primary School. More interviews were carried out in other Districts of Pwani and in Shinyanga Region.

During this second stage of the research, I would like to continue, with your cooperation, to undertake the following activities:

1. To run a mini-workshop with teachers (4 – 6) and headteachers (3 – 6) from various schools. They may be from schools in which the first stage of the research was carried out or, if this is inconvenient, from other schools.

2. To run another mini-workshop with District Education Officers together with Primary School Inspectors. (Ideallly there would be between 4 and 6 participants).

Some participants may be from your district and others from Kibaha District. Each workshop will last two hours.

The aim of these workshops is to present findings of the research carried out in the Districts of Mkuranga, Kibaha and Shinyanga last year and also participants will debate these findings. The discussions will be recorded in order to improve the final findings of the research.

I will meet the costs of the workshop and would prefer it to be held between 28th April and 18th May 2003.

Angeline Barrett
PhD Research Student
Graduate School of Education, University of Bristol

cc. Dr. H.A. Dachi
Faculty of Education
University of Dar es Salaam

Appendix 1.12: Letter of invitation to discussion meeting

MAMLAKA YA MJI MDOGO KIBAHA

Idara ya Elimu
S.L.P. 30112
Kibaha-Pwani

22nd April 2003.

Kumba Na: ED/E.10/4/1
Mwl. .....
S/M .....
c/o H/T .....
Kibaha Town Coucil.

YAH: UKARIBISHO KWA MAJADILIANO JUU YA MADA YA "MITAZAMO YA WALIMU WA SHULE ZA MSINGI TANZANIA"

Mwaka jana Angeline Barrett alifika wilaya za Kibaha Mji Mdogo na Kibaha kwa ajili ya utafiti kuhusu "Mitazamo ya walimu wa shule za msingi Tanzania". Utafiti huu unafanyika kwa ajili ya kusomea shahada ya juu ya udaktari (Ph.D.). Anapenda kuchukua nafasi hii kuwashukuru walimu walioshiriki katika awamu ya kwanza ya utafiti huu.

Katika awamu hii ya pili ya Utafiti, tungependelea kukukarabisha kwenye majadiliano. Madhumuni ya haya ni kuwasilisha matokeo ya Utafiti uliofanyika katika wilaya za Mkuranga, Kibaha na Shinyanga mwaka jana, aidha washiriki wataikosoa na kujadili yatakayojitokeza katika utafiti huu. Majadiliano yatarekodiwa kwa ajili ya kupata matokeo mazuri zaidi ya mwisho ya utafiti.

Majadiliano yatafanyika April 30 katika TRC ndogo, Mlandizi, kuanzia saa nne asabuhi. Majadiliano yatakuwa ya muda mfupi tu, isoyo zidi masaa matatu. Gharama ya usafiri ya kwenda na kurudi na lunch allowance utapatiwa.

Tungependelea kuwakaribisha walioshirika katika awamu ya kwanza wote lakini, kwa bahati mbaya uwezo wetu hauturuhusu. Kwa hiyo tumechagua walimu wachache kwa kuzingatia umri wao kazini na kijinsia zao ili wawakilishe walimu wenzao kwa jumla. Katika mtazamo huu washiriki wa majadiliano haya inawalenga walimu wenye majukumu mbalimbali mashuleni. Kama kuna mwalimu mwingine shuleni kwako ambaye nilimhoji mwaka jana lakini hakushiriki katika majadiliano haya naomba unipitishie shukrani zangu na umfahamishe kwamba sijamsahau na tutawasiliana tena matokeo yakikamilika.

Angeline Barrett
PhD Research Student
Graduate School of Education, University of Bristol

J. M. Shumbusho
District Academic Education Officer
Kibaha TC
(Organiser & contact: J.M. Shumbusho)

Transcript of Appendix 1.12

Kibaha Town Council

District Education Office
Kibaha

22nd April 2003

Teacher:
Primary School:
C/o Headteacher:
Kibaha Town Council,

Re: Invitation to a discussion on
"Tanzanian Primary School Teachers' Perceptions of their Work"

Last year, Angeline Barrett came to Kibaha Town Council and Kibaha District to carry out research on "Tanzanian primary school teachers' perceptions of their work". This research was undertaken towards a Ph.D. She would like to take this opportunity to thank those teachers who participated in the first stage of the research.

As part of the second stage, we would like to welcome you to a discussion meeting. The aim of this is to present findings of the research carried out in the districts of Mkuranga, Kibaha and Shinyanga last year and also the participants will debate the emerging findings. The discussions will be recorded in order to improve the final findings.

The discussions will be on April 30th at Mlandizi Teachers' Resource Centre, starting from 10 am. The discussion will last no longer than three hours. Travel expenses and a lunch allowance will be made available.

We would like to invite all participants in the first stage of the research but, unfortunately, are unable. Therefore, we have chosen a few teachers taking into consideration the lengths of their careers and their gender so that they will be representative of their fellow teachers. In respect to this consideration, the participants in the discussion meeting will be teachers with various levels of responsibility in schools. If there is another teacher at your school, who I interviewed but who is not involved in the discussion meeting, I request you pass my thanks to him or her and let him or her know that I have not forgotten them and will communicate again when the findings are finalised.

Angeline Barrett
PhD Research Student
Graduate School of Education, University of Bristol

J.M. Shumbusho
District Academic Education Officer
Kibaha Town Council
(Organiser & contact: J.M. Shumbusho)

Appendix 2: Feedback Documents

This appendix consists of documents related to the feedback emerging findings, during or shortly after stage two. Appendix 2.1 is a lengthy report, only intended to be read by a few people, who had the most interest in the research. Copies were given to Oxfam Tanzania and DEOs at the beginning of my second visit to Tanzania. This report also represents an early stage in the analysis of interview data. Appendix 2.2 is the transcript of the presentation given at the last of the discussion meetings, held at Iselemagazi ward of Shinyanga Rural, attended by teachers and headteachers from schools within the ward, the Ward Education Coordinator, two Oxfam programme officers and myself. Like the other discussion meetings, it started with a presentation from myself, during which I referred to tables and notes displayed on flipchart paper.

Appendix 2.3 is a letter of thanks sent to schools after the completion of stage 2. It was accompanied by the article in appendix 2.4, which was intended to summarise emerging findings. During the data collection, I was on several occasion recounted tales of other European research students, who had carried out work in the same districts, usually Masters students and in disciplines other than education. Invariably, these ended with a comment that the person had not contacted them since and those, who facilitated the research, had never heard of the findings. I therefore thought it was important to feed back findings but realised that if this was left until after write-up was complete, the research activities might well have been forgotten and several of those involved may have transferred to other districts or schools. For this reason, the letter and Swahili article in appendices 2.3 and 2.4 respectively, were distributed to schools in August 2003, following completion of data collection in May 2003.

Appendix 2.1: Feedback document for DEOs

Teacher Identity in Tanzania

A study of primary school teachers' perceptions of their work

Author: Angeline Barrett
Ph.D. researcher, Graduate School of Education, University of Bristol, UK
Contact: Angeline.Barrett@bris.ac.uk

Contents

TEACHER IDENTITY IN TANZANIA 1

A STUDY OF PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHERS PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR WORK 1

CONTENTS 1
THANKS 2

ABSTRACT 2

ABBREVIATIONS 2
1. INTRODUCTION 3
1.1 Research Methodology 3
1.2 Teachers' working contexts 5
1.3 An Overview 6
2. MALEZI - TEACHERS AS GUARDIANS 6
2.1 Meaning of Malezi 7
2.2 Malezi and the socio-cultural benefits of education 8
2.3 Teacher as an example or mirror 9
3. KITAALUMA - TEACHERS AS PEDAGOGUES 11
3.1 Knowledge transfer 12
3.2 Good practice - participation and visual aids 13
3.3 Climbing a ladder: Moving through the syllabus and assessment 14
4. KAZI AU WITO - TEACHERS AS EMPLOYEES 16
4.1 Teaching as a vocation versus teaching as a job 16
4.2 Salary and employment conditions 18
4.3 Teachers' working context 20
5.0 DISCUSSION AND COMPARISON WITH ENGLISH TEACHERS 21

REFERENCES 24

Thanks

I would like to express my thanks to Dr. Hillary Dachi of the Faculty of Education, University of Dar es Salaam, for acting as my first contact and advisor in Tanzania and to Oxfam Tanzania for inviting me to and supporting the fieldwork in Shinyanga. Special thanks goes to those who helped to facilitate parts of the fieldwork including Godfrey Wawa, Programme Manager of Oxfam Shinyanga Primary Education Programme (now EQUIP), the district education officers at Mkuranga, Kibaha Town Council, Kibaha District, Shinyanga Rural and Shinyanga Municipality, in particular Mrs. Cheka Omari, Mrs. Theresa Kalokola, Mama Kihawa, Mzee Hassan Jamaal, Mr. Shumbusho and Mr. Salum Ulimwengu. I would like to acknowledge the ESRC for sponsoring my Ph.D. Special thanks go to my Advisors at the Graduate School of Education, University of Bristol, Prof. Marilyn Osborn and Prof. Michael Crossley, for their advice and encouragement throughout.

Abstract

This paper presents and discusses findings of fieldwork carried out towards a Ph.D. on "Tanzanian Primary School Teachers' Perceptions of their Work". Thirty-four one-to-one interviews with teachers and six sets of discussion groups were conducted with the aim of constructing a description of teachers' own perceptions of their professional responsibilities and identity. Teachers divided their responsibilities into two domains. *Malezi* related to their role as guardians of children and their relationship with other adult guardians. *Kitaaluma*, the academic/professional domain, concerned the performance of official contractual duties. In describing teachers' understandings of *malezi* and good classroom practice, I also explore their perceptions of the purpose and benefits of primary education. Teachers' relations with the local community and hence, social identity, differed in town and village settings. Employment conditions, most especially salary levels but also the levels of resourcing in schools, was problematic for teachers' relations with the government, as their employer, and society, which government represents. This was expressed through a debate as to whether teaching should be considered as a vocation (*wito*) or a job (*kazi*). I explore why it is that the discourse of vocation is essential to the professional identity of some teachers at the same time others rhetorically reject it. The ideological basis of the Tanzanian notion of *malezi* and English notion of 'nurturing' are compared in the concluding discussion and three elements Tanzanian teachers' responsibilities and identity, *malezi*, *kitaaluma* and *wito*, are reassembled. Finally, I ask whether an English notion of vocation can shed light on a Tanzanian dilemma.

Abbreviations

CBP	Children's Book Programme
DEO	District Education Office(r)
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
MOEC	Ministry of Education and Culture
PSLE	Primary School Leaving Examination
S1	Standard one (Year 1 of formal schooling)
UPE	Universal Primary Education

1. Introduction

This paper is a summary of the findings of fieldwork carried out towards a Ph.D. on "Tanzanian Primary School Teachers' Perceptions of their Work". The author is a postgraduate researcher at the Graduate School of Education, University of Bristol sponsored by the ESRC (Economic and Social Research Council). The overall aims of the Ph.D. study are to investigate and describe Tanzanian primary school teachers' perceptions of their professional identity and to draw a comparison with the professional identity of English teachers, as described in the literature.

The research methodology is discussed in this introductory section followed by a description of teachers' working contexts in towns and villages and an overview of subsequent sections. The findings are presented in sections two to four under the three headings "Teachers as guardians", "Teachers as pedagogues" and "Teachers as employees". In section five, these three components of teacher identity are drawn together and related to the root metaphors which organise understandings of mass formal education and the up-bringing of children. These are elucidated through comparison with English notions of nurture and vocation.

1.1 Research Methodology

The fieldwork was conducted in two stages, in October - November 2002 and April - May 2003, and in two out of Tanzania's twenty regions, Pwani and Shinyanga. In Pwani, I visited schools in Mkuranga, Kibaha Town Council and Kibaha Rural Districts (Kibaha district was recently divided into two parts). In Shinyanga Region, schools were visited in Shinyanga Municipality, Shinyanga Rural and one school in the Kishapu District (a new district created by a division of Shinyanga Rural in 2002). I went to Shinyanga at the invitation of Oxfam Tanzania, who logistically supported the research and introduced me to district education officers and headteachers. The districts of Mkuranga and Kibaha were selected in consultation with my local contact at the University of Dar es Salaam, on the basis of contrast to Shinyanga, relative proximity to Dar es Salaam (where I had accommodation), the range of schools within the districts and pre-existing relations with district administrators. The district education departments facilitated the research through providing introductions to schools, participating in discussion groups and Mkuranga district also provided transport to village schools.

During the first stage of the fieldwork, I conducted thirty-four one-hour semi-structured interviews with individual teachers and two school case studies, each lasting one week. The purpose of the case studies was to familiarise the researcher with the everyday activities and environment of a Tanzanian primary school as well as providing an opportunity to have informal discussions with the teachers at these schools over a period of time. During the second stage of fieldwork, groups of teachers and education officials were invited to discuss emerging findings. The findings presented in this paper are derived mainly from the interview data and focus group discussions. The one-to-one interviews and discussion groups addressed the following research questions:

1. What are Tanzanian primary school teachers' commonly held educational beliefs regarding teaching children, children's learning, the purpose and benefits of primary education?

2. How do teachers describe their professional identity and responsibilities in relation to other education stakeholder groups (e.g. pupils, parents, local community, national society and government)?

3. How are Tanzanian teachers' professional identity and educational beliefs influenced by their local and national social and organisational contexts?

The approach was qualitative, relying on detailed authentic findings from a small number of informants to generate findings that may be related to other teachers (which would be unachievable with the small numbers included in this study). One-to-one interviews were conducted with two teachers at each of sixteen schools and one teacher at each of two schools, making a total of thirty-four interviews. The schools included small village schools (with 4 - 7 teachers, located 2.5 - 17 km from a main road), medium-sized village schools (10 - 15 teachers, located on a main road) and large town schools (with 28 - 40 teachers, either located in town centres or close to the main Dodoma - Dar es Salaam Road running through the Kibaha districts). The length of service of interviewees ranged from one to thirty-eight years and in total 18 women and 16 men were interviewed. Schools were selected in consultation with a local contact and an education officer in each district. During a first visit to each school, I requested the headteacher to select two teachers with different lengths of service from his or her school and the interviews were conducted at the school during a second visit. The intention was that most of the interviewees would be people who were respected as responsible, competent and articulate by their colleagues (although a minority were selected on grounds of availability or a special relationship with the headteacher). No headteachers were interviewed although the sample included a deputy headteacher, academic teachers and long service teachers, who had earlier in their careers been headteachers. The interviews were about an hour long and included questions on career biography, a recent lesson, pupil characteristics, characteristics of a good teacher, lifestyle and relations with pupils, parents and the educational administration.

In total six meetings were held in which I presented emerging findings and then invited participants in groups of five or six to discuss these and feedback their comments to the main group. These acted as a form of triangulation, through which Tanzanian practitioners and administrators commented, as insiders, on my outsider's interpretation. They also gave participants greater contact with the research process at the same time as contributing to dissemination of the findings and stimulation of constructive debate around teachers' work and identity. Two of the meetings were conducted with teachers from the case study schools (one in Mkuranga and one in Shinyanga Municipality), two with teachers and headteachers from various schools, including some who had been interviewed during the first stage (in Kibaha and Shinyanga Rural), and two with district education officers and inspectors (in Shinyanga and DEOs only in Mkuranga)

The data was analysed using a narrative approach, which kept in view the individuality of informants and preserved the context of data bits. For example, in constructing a description of the implications of contrasting environments for teacher identity, the reflective comments of those teachers, who had worked in both town and village schools, were privileged.

1.2 Teachers' working contexts

The findings, presented in the next three sections, need to be understood in the context of teachers' living and working environments. The following description is based on interview data and my observations of a total of twenty schools visited during the course of the research. Teachers themselves talked a great deal about their 'environment' (*mazingira*), frequently contrasting the social and organisational contexts of towns and villages and together with their own lifestyles. Pupils enrolling in town schools were fluent in kiSwahili, the medium of instruction, and already had some basic reading and writing skills, which they picked up at home or, increasingly, in kindergarten. In rural areas, many children arrived in S1 having never picked up a pen and with little more than a rudimentary grasp of kiSwahili. Poverty lead to interrupted learning, as children missed school in order to work, due to ill health or because they had no soap or water and were ashamed to appear in unwashed uniforms. Teachers also blamed poverty and local traditions for drop out, as teenagers in upper primary were expected or preferred to be economically productive or, in the case of girls, start families. Even those in attendance failed to benefit, becoming inattententive as the day wore on and they had not yet eaten. Such poverty-related issues were discussed by teachers working in all types of schools but were generally believed to be more acute in village schools.

The relationship with the community and parents was both more important to and more problematic for village teachers. Many village teachers lived close to their school and all primary school children in the neighbourhood attended their school. As government employees, often from a different part of the country, they stood out amongst a largely homogenous peasant village population. By contrast, town teachers in Pwani often lived a bus journey away from their school and would only encounter a handful of their pupils outside of school. Once away from the school compound, they blended into a cosmopolitan kiSwahili-speaking population made up of educated and uneducated, employed, self-employed and unemployed people. Nonetheless, their neighbours generally knew their profession and might address them as "*mwalimu*" (teacher). Hence, although town teachers, in contrast to their colleagues posted to villages, may be said to leave their *work* behind on leaving the school compound, in both environments, they carried the *identity* of teacher with them at all times and places.

Town teachers had more contact with the district education office and participated more frequently in short courses, many of which were sponsored by a donor agency. Teachers in Pwani tended to have more exposure to contemporary pedagogical ideas and teacher development activities than their colleagues in Shinyanga, although this not only varied from school to school but between teachers within the same school. Town schools were large, typically having 1200-1800 pupils, thirty to forty staff, only two - four of whom were men, teaching classes with between sixty and over a hundred pupils. Teachers had between four to six time-tabled periods a day and a team of senior staff shared administrative responsibilities. Village schools were generally acutely understaffed with no more than one female teacher. Hence, teachers frequently had more periods allocated than there were on the school timetable and also shared the burden of administrative tasks. These last were frequently time consuming, as a visit to the district headquarters could take a whole day or involve an over-night stay. Except in S1 and 2, which have been effected by the latest UPE (Universal Primary Education) drive, class sizes were smaller than in towns, with S6 and 7 classes frequently only being attended by around twenty-five pupils. In short, whilst teachers in towns struggled with over-sized classes, teachers in villages often had unmanageable workloads.

Despite these differences and although local context clearly does influence teacher identity, teachers cannot easily be categorised into town and village types. Many teachers in town schools had started their career in a village school and this past experience contributed to the formation of their present educational beliefs and sense of identity. Likewise, several short-service teachers (five years or less) posted to village schools had worked voluntarily in a large town school during a period when teacher recruitment was frozen. So although, town teachers in Pwani tended to talk the most extensively on pedagogy whilst village teachers in Shinyanga tended to talk in greatest depth on pupils' home environments, there was a remarkable degree of congruence in professional identity across the two environments.

1.3 An Overview

The data was analysed for information on teachers' perceptions of their responsibilities and professional identity. The next two sections of this paper focus on professional responsibilities, which are necessarily bound up with teachers' beliefs regarding how to bring-up children and the purpose and benefits of formal education. Informants divided their responsibilities into "*kitaaluma*", presented in section three, and "*malezi*", dealt with in section two. *Kitaaluma*, the academic/professional domain, concerned the performance of official contractual duties, such as teaching in class, tracking attendance or maintaining school buildings. *Malezi*, meaning care or guidance, was far more complex. It concerned teachers' responsibilities as guardians of children and their relationship with other adult guardians (e.g. parents, community leaders). The beliefs explicit to conceptualisation of the *malezi* domain were also seen as providing a moral rationale and motivation for performance within the *kitaaluma* domain. *Kitaaluma* and *malezi* may be roughly defined as responsibilities to the government, as employer, and pupils with the local community, respectively.

Section four turns to a second analytic focus on professional identity. Identity, whether it is personal, professional or that of a social group (e.g. ethnic identity) must be drawn up in relation to some others. At the time of the research, conflicting tensions in teachers' identity in relation to society (a far more tangible concept in post-Ujamaa Tanzania then it is in England) and bureaucratic-based government were expressed through a debate as to whether teaching should be considered as a vocation (*wito*) or a job (*kazi*).

2. Malezi - Teachers as guardians

> First the pupils see the teacher as their helper, their leader, their guide in all good things wherever they travel in life. They take him as their father, an expert [*mtaalum*] on things that are brought to school, also their guardian. Now, whatever you tell them, they must follow because they know that this one leads, he is our leader in life. They depend a lot on teachers. (BISRm7:8)

Guidance, direction and, when it is needed, correction are all part of *malezi*, the care or upbringing of children. Teachers frequently summarised their relationship to pupils as that of a second guardian (*mlezi wa pili*) or second parent (*mzazi wa pili*). Parents and teachers both have a responsibility for bringing up children with different but overlapping areas of specialism. The parenting children receive at home was seen as one of the major factors influencing their success in school. So, the relationship with parents was important to teachers and this extended their responsibilities well beyond the school compound.

2.1 Meaning of Malezi

> A good teacher is required to have good characteristics. [...] To direct the children when you leave [the classroom]. The children might fight each other and you decide to leave them to it. But you haven't helped at all, you should help them. Even if they are ill, you don't need to wait until they go to their parent, you busy yourself with them yourself, treat him/her and then send him/her home. (BLPJf7a:8).

Malezi is similar to the English concept of caring for children. The example of attending to sick children was often given to illustrate how teachers cared for children, sometimes "even more than their parents". Care extended to pupils' emotional and family problems as well as visible health problems. One teacher in a case study school gave an example of how she had, over a period of several years, counseled a pupil who was being mistreated by her mother. The teacher had also raised the matter directly with the mother, although to little effect. However, she was proud that with her support the girl had managed to complete school before running away from home. On the other hand, it was beyond the means of teachers to meet even the obvious needs of pupils (e.g. malnutrition, lack of adequate clothing, no pen or exercise book) and it is in this context that the most frequently cited example of care was an immediate response to an urgent problem, i.e. attending to a seriously sick child.

Guidance is emphasised within *malezi*, which is seen as preparing children for their position as responsible adult citizens. This means learning behaviour that is "agreeable to society" (*tabia zilizokubali na jamii*) and acquiring basic 'life skills', such as cooking, cleaning and gardening. (Remember the context of a tropical climate, where cholera is a major killer, and a weak formal economy, where even salaried employees may rely on their farming skills to feed their families). As the last quote above suggests, guidance on appropriate behaviour involves correcting antisocial behaviour such as bullying or bad manners. Teachers also talked extensively about their own roles as living examples of how pupils should behave (see section 2.3). What they did not talk about so much, but was observed in the school case studies, was the moral messages embedded within the 'hidden curriculum'.

Another aspect of the adult-child relationship in Tanzania is that adults have the authority to send children on errands (*kuwatuma*). This is necessary, as teachers and pupils run the school together without the help of support staff and, very often, insufficient numbers of teachers. Hence, children's labour is used to keep the school clean, to attend to the gardens and the farm, to make tea for teachers, to fetch water or sand for building a new classroom. Older pupils, who are monitors, also assist with supervision of cleaning and, in one school, were observed overseeing classes in the absence of a teacher. Through assigning, supervising and correcting pupils' work around the school compound, teachers helped children to acquire the practical skills, frequently described as "suitable to their environment" (*zinazokubali/zinazolingana na mazingira yao*):

> Children should keep the environment clean, be given tasks by the teacher, such as bringing water, repairing houses. The teacher gives them tasks to assess and build character. (AUSRm7:8)

There is a strong similarity to the way children are assigned tasks and encouraged to responsibility for housework in the home.

2.2 Malezi and the socio-cultural benefits of education

> They get the light of education from teachers. When you go to school it's required that you be taught, you cannot know what your life in future will be, so when you are taught, you are taught various things, various training to help in future life. Or like me, perhaps one day s/he will be a teacher. (BWSUf9:5).
>
> You must work with the objectives that you are preparing people who should be leaders later, who should be good citizens later. This is the second relationship, which is like a parent you aim to prepare people, who should have good characteristics, good education, so later they will come to help me. As I do with my own child, I want my child to become a doctor. (AKPJf7:7).

Education, like parenting, is regarded as preparation for future life. The most restricted definitions of the purpose of primary education were narrowly focused on success in the Primary School Leaving Examinations (PLSE), which determine entry to secondary education and as such, may even be the first step towards entry to university. However, the preparatory role of education could also be conceived as being much broader. Some informants, like the two quoted above, mentioned preparation for responsible citizenship. Others highlighted the vocational component of the curriculum, although it was often described as unsatisfactory in implementation. However broad or narrow the benefits of education were conceived to be, the parent-child analogy for the teacher-pupil relationship leant a moral imperative to the fulfilment of contractual duties. This was emphatically confirmed by participants in the focus group discussions, who claimed that it was only because they regarded their pupils as being like their own children that they were motivated to teach well.

So far, I have broken *malezi* down into four facets: care, meaning attending to children's physical and emotional needs; socialisation, through correction of antisocial behaviour and the example of teachers' own conduct (treated in more depth below); development of basic knowledge and skills through assigning and supervising work; and, lastly, preparation for future life through teaching of the formal curriculum leading to examination success or acquisition of vocational skills. These elements were combined within a view of primary education as transformative. Clothing and hygiene, so frequently referred to, were the outward signs of transformation:

> We say, "Learning is the change of behaviours" [said in English]You see? If you study your characteristics change. Conversely, if you don't study your characteristics will not change, you will be as you were, you haven't learnt anything. You should expect a child to change, spiritually, mentally, physically, each thing.
>
> Even if you meet a child who has studied in the street, you find they are sitting in a large group, you can know this one and this one and this one are studying, without asking, just from the appearance, the appearance alone. Some you find have not washed their clothes for many years. You are around town, you see them? They are very dirty. (AMPKf7a:8)
>
> The first thing is to change their ideas. To take the village out of them and to tell them that they have now entered a new platform, that of education. [They should] cut their nails and hair, that there is a tree they use here for cleaning their teeth, to make use of that tree. That you brush [the latrine] after going to the toilet. (AZSRf8a:5)

As the last quote illustrates, the goal of transformation tends to be targeted at children with 'unenlightened' parents, for whom the culture of home is most divergent from that of school. Divergence was indicated by complaints that parents were unsupportive of the education project, i.e. they sanctioned absenteeism through turning a blind eye or themselves obliging children to work, did not provide space or time for homework or complained against punishment administered at school. However, other teachers

described the change brought about through education as empowering rather than transforming. For these people, education was not perceived so much as replacing village culture but rather as enabling village children to be culturally competent in other settings:

> He comes to change the surroundings from home. This child, he comes to study to understand with other children, to build friendships. He builds communication with teachers. Then, a child studies a different environment from home. E.g. there is water in a tank, he discovers if you want water you open, like this. Or the door, he finds there is another way to lock a door. He learns, from the school environment, he changes. [...] When he mops the floor, he learns how to mop a cement floor. If he decides to later build a house he will know how to keep it clean. (BISKm8:8)
>
> The difference can be big. The one who has studied, even when he sends his cotton he knows whether the clerk is cheating him or not. Already, he can calculate for each kilogram how much money he should get. He understands the price of something is how much. He can look and start business. If he has not studied he might fail in business because he does not know mathematics. (BISKm8:9)

According to this view, primary education prepares national citizens, in the sense that graduates can survive, even flourish and profit, in any part of Tanzania. The nation, both town and village, is opened up to them and they can navigate its obstacles, such as corrupt petty officials, and make the most of its opportunities, e.g. build a stone house or start a business. The teacher quoted above, who had lived his whole life in the village, demonstrated these benefits himself, when he negotiated a school transfer to allow his seriously ill wife access to medical treatment.

The notion that education should help children to fulfill their individual potential was not given the same emphasis as is characteristic of English teachers. The discussion groups did accept this as a desirable goal of education but one that, with large class sizes and an overcrowded curriculum, they could not hope to fulfil.

2.3 Teacher as an example or mirror

I mentioned above that *malezi* involved being an example to pupils of respectable behaviour. For many informants, the principle that a teacher should be a living example of everything that s/he taught was the central tenet of ethical conduct:

> First he should himself have good characteristics. Because we say that a teacher is a mirror, you can't yourself have uncombed hair, wear shirt and trousers that have not been washed in a whole month and then come to tell the youth, they should be clean and what have you. You won't make sense. So a teacher should be a mirror, the children copy him. (BRPKm7:6)
>
> The teacher should be an example, to have respect, to have good ethics [*maadili mwema*], to be disciplined, this is what is required from a teacher. A child will learn this behaviour. (BMPMf7:7)
>
> When I talk with pupils in class, I expect that pupils will be in the habit of copying, that they will copy what I teach. Even that they will copy me myself, how I am, my behaviour, the way I talk. (AKPMm8:11)

Beyond giving guidance on socially acceptable behaviour, teachers also saw themselves as walking examples of the benefits of education. This was most especially true in village environments, where they regarded many of the parents to be 'unenlightened'.

Hence, a teacher is a mirror, in which children and their parents can see possibilities for their own future:

> You should be a mirror, a sculpture for society. They should see that you are a teacher who is worthy of teaching them. (ASPMm9:7)
>
> Because when teachers like their work, when you follow ethics, even in the village they gaze at you as a teacher. They think when we send our children to this teacher they get something better. (BMPMf7:10)

Several teachers, most of them in Shinyanga Region, claimed that they themselves as children had been attracted by their own teachers, not just the way they taught but also "the way they were" (*jinsi walivyo*):

> When I was a student, there were some teachers I used to gaze at them, the way they were teaching, the way they were living. (BGSUm8:3)
>
> When I was in S5, middle school, I met female teachers for the first time. From seeing that they were in a good situation, they looked good, I hoped that I would become a teacher. (AISRf6:2)

Clearly, they had associated teaching with a certain lifestyle. And this association still continued, as the references to appearance and personal hygiene in many of the quotes above demonstrate.

Being a 'mirror' not just for their pupils but for parents and society as a whole extends teachers' professional identity well beyond the boundaries of the school compound. Teacher is not just a position in a school but also a position in society. When I observed to discussion groups that this makes their work unbounded, they not only agreed but pointed out that the identity of teacher reaches to the grave, where they are named as, "the late Teacher So-and-so" (*Marehemu Mwl. Nani*). The idea that in England, after leaving the school premises no one need know you are a teacher provoked laughter in Shinyanga Rural.

The concept of *malezi* clearly contributes towards teachers' beliefs concerning the relationship between themselves and pupils, parents and the local community. *Malezi* derives from shared social values and beliefs concerning the upbringing of children, providing a moral and social rationale for teachers' work to compliment its contractual basis. It also contributes towards defining teachers' position in society, as they demonstrate to children's other guardians (parents and community leaders) through their everyday and everywhere conduct that they are fit to be guardians and also seek to guide and educate by their own example those parents they regard as 'unenlightened' or irresponsible in their care of children. In section four, I will look at how teachers' role as government employees also contributes to their identity in society. Concepts of *malezi* influence teachers' perceptions of the socio-cultural project of education but they do not define teachers' official contractual duties nor do they determine what is formally taught in class and how. In the next section, I turn to teachers' concepts of classroom teaching and learning and how this relates to their understanding of the formal education system in Tanzania.

3. Kitaaluma - teachers as pedagogues

Four teachers' descriptions of a lesson they had taught recent to the interview are given as an illustrative background to this section. The last excerpt is untypical, in that it was the only description offered of a vocational skills lesson.

> In social studies I taught about the borders of Tanzania. In this teaching what I used was a visual aid, the map of Tanzania, I drew it large. [...] It is this one [*points to simple hand-drawn map, hanging on wall of teachers' office*]. Then I used an atlas. Because I had already taught about compass points, it was easy for them to understand borders. Therefore I used the pupils themselves. [...] One pupil came to the front, s/he used this map, then s/he asked her/his fellows questions, for example, name the lake on the South side, s/he points it out. Her/his fellows answer. [...] After teaching, I set work. [...] to do in their exercise books. What I used was that map, which I drew for them. I ask the pupils, "Letter B is the country of _____ ", and they fill in the blank. [...] I passed around to mark. (S4 Social Studies Lesson, AKPMm8:7)

> For example, to involve them I wrote a proverb on the board, then I ask them, before I have given the answer, "What do you think this proverb can teach you about society?" Each person gave her/his view, that I think that this proverb has this and that meaning. Each pupil. At the end you give an answer, the explanations you gave were good but it teaches us this and that. [...] There, for example, each person has explained, there are some who explain, they begin well and at the end make a mistake. You must say that so-and-so said this but s/he reached a place s/he said such-and-such but s/he started well. [...] After the explanation, I gave work, an exercise, in which I ask a question and they answer. This is to make sure they have grasped it firmly. [...] After that I set exercises on the whole lot for them to do in their exercise books. [...] The objectives were first that they should understand the meaning of the proverbs and what they teach, second that the pupils should be able to use proverbs in their everyday conversation. [...] When I came to mark, it appeared that many had succeeded and a few, they understood but not a lot. So, I returned to that subject again to make sure that all of them had understood. [...] Around 70% understood. You find that in the class there are some who understand quickly and some understand slowly, only after you repeat it again and again. (S5 Swahili Lesson, AISKm9:4-5)

> What I was doing, I used my board first. As a second visual aid I use cards with the syllables, those words. Yesterday I wrote those syllables like ba, be, bi, bo, bu. We read them, following the order "ba, be, bi, bo, bu". Then I can mix them up, to know if when reading them they understand or they are copying. Meaning a person could even close their eyes and do "ba, be, bi, bo". So I say, there's nothing there they are just singing. So I mix them up, one by one, "Read here". If they read them, I know truly, truly they are not singers, they are reading.
>
> When I finish there, I clean the board, I give them cards now. I show them a card. How do you say this? If they complete that, I give them words that have these syllables. For example, I can tell them, because this is revision, I have already taught them I tell them, "OK, write *jembe*", "Write *nyumba*", "Write *bolea*". If you see that many have succeeded you know that your lesson is successful. If you see that many have not yet understood, you have to return to it again. (S1 Swahili lesson, BRPKm7:5)

> In agriculture there is a competition. Each group of five people has a plot and in each plot they have their procedures. We cannot teach them without competition. [...] Now I have already decided to involve them, it is very easy. These will farm sesame, these cassava. The class will be like a village. It is a class but we do not do one thing, we farm like a village. They visit each other and see where the problems are. Our peers have harvested but we have not, is it because of laziness? (Vocational Skills or Education for Self Reliance, S5-6, BKPJm7:6)

3.1 Knowledge transfer

Interviewees were asked to describe one lesson, which they had taught within the last week. Most of the lessons described followed a similar format of a teacher-led explanation after which the class was given a written exercise in order to assess their recall of the explanation. As in the first lesson described above, teachers dwelt at some length on the explanation, often investing forethought and creativity in its preparation. The use of visual aids (*zana*) and involvement of pupils (*ushirikishaji*) either through use of question and answer or bringing one or more pupils to the front to share in delivering the 'explanation' (e.g. by performing a skit or demonstrating a solution) was considered as good practice, making the lesson more entertaining for pupils and easier to remember. By contrast, the written work assigned to the class was usually described perfunctorily and only after prompting. With the exception of kiSwahili and mathematics, it usually took the form of a fill-in-the-blank type exercise. In two schools, (neither of them a case study school) I was expected to leave a lesson observation at the point when the pupils were first permitted to open their exercise books. It was clear from observations in the case study schools that a good proportion of pupils' time in class was taken up with attempting written exercises (not always with a teacher present in the room). That many teachers' omitted or gave only scant attention to pupil activity when asked to "describe a lesson they had taught" suggests that 'teaching' is understood as delivering an explanation. Hence, one informant was able to state, "Today I did not teach, I set a test". In contrast to delivering an explanation, the planning and setting of pupil activities was considered as unproblematic and uninteresting. The unspoken assumption is that pupils learn through listening to an explanation and written exercises serve only to assess understanding and aid memory.

Ushirikishaji, the involvement of pupils, was commonly contrasted to "lecturing" or "teaching by theory", which was regarded as out of date and inappropriate to the younger age range of children now attending primary school. A few discussion groups asserted that they did use participatory methods and practicals (*vitendo*), whilst others acknowledged that "chalk and talk" was still overused in Tanzania. This was blamed on shortage of teaching and learning materials, overcrowding in classrooms, lack of time to prepare lessons and (suggested once) constraints of the syllabus. However, participatory strategies and visual aids were predominantly conceived as improving the explanation, as in the first two lesson descriptions above, and rarely as 'learning activities', as in the last description. Discussion groups agreed that many teachers were in the habit of setting short or simplistic exercises in order to make their marking load manageable.

The emphasis on explanation implies a view of teaching as knowledge transfer but transfer here is not the smooth and unproblematic process that Freire's banking or tea-pouring analogies suggest. Rather it is has a haphazard element, requiring ingenuity and patience on the teacher's part. It may be likened to a game of catch with a slippery ball. The teacher throws out the information to the students, who try to grasp it and take hold of it firmly, so that it cannot escape again. If they fail to catch it first time, the teacher has to try again, thinking of other ways to present and communicate the information. In any class there are some who are more agile and adept in catching the information, literally described as "the quick ones" (*wapesi*). Others are slow and clumsier, known as "the heavy ones" (*wazito*). Ideally, the teacher tries his or her best to ensure they all catch the information but as they try to move the whole class along

together in a steady march through the syllabus, there is little time for interaction with small groups or individual pupils. Therefore, almost inevitably, as teachers see it, some pupils fall by the wayside, failing to keep up with the rest of the class.

The discussion groups largely accepted the game of catch metaphor as a description of *good* practice (it was actually presented as a metaphor for *teachers' understanding of* good practice). Several groups said that when classes were oversized there was no time to follow up slower pupils and ensure they had caught the ball. One group embellished the metaphor further, suggesting the ball might be defective, too large or too small for the pupils to catch, an analogy for material being presented in a way that is inappropriate to pupils' ability. It was recognised that children have different learning styles but asserted that, given a context of oversized classes and lack of teaching and learning resources, it is impossible to meet the needs of individuals.

3.2 Good practice - participation and visual aids

As the third account above illustrates, S1-2 teachers tended to have a more skills-oriented view of teaching and learning, their main target being that pupils should learn to read and write (numeracy skills were only considered less important because pupils arrived at school with greater proficiency). They also preferred to assess their pupils one-by-one in class, making some form of personal contact with each individual. Whilst there was more pupil activity in lower classes, mainly in the form of singing, clapping and chorused responses, there was less contribution of ideas, as when pupils in higher classes were invited to construct part of the explanation themselves through responding to teacher-led questions.

Some of the methods vaunted as 'participatory' evidently had a long history in Tanzania, such as singing, skits, question and answer or call and response (*ngonjera*). The use of proverbs, described in the second lesson, often with a moral message, also appeared to have a long history. One teacher, who enthusiastically described the techniques she had learnt from a donor-funded reading project, the Children's Book Programme (CBP), contrasted the new notions of *ushirikishaji* with the old:

> In the past, we used to teach first and then ask the children questions. But this one now, first you discuss with the children, you put them into groups, "how do you think this thing is?" The children begin to give answers before you have told them anything. This is a little different. (BLPJf7:5).

Likewise, visual aids (*zana*) were not considered as new. Several informants claimed that the only difference was that now they were encouraged to make *zana* (or, in the case of CBP schools, encouraged to involve the children in making *zana*), whereas in the past these had been provided.

I did observe practical activities being used in vocational subjects, despite several teachers' complaints that their schools lacked expertise and resources. In one lesson, a teacher persuaded pupils to bring along potatoes whilst she provided the cooking oil so that the class could practice cooking chips. The products of vocational skills lessons, in the form of hand-made dusters, clay sculptures and paper chains were also observed

around schools. The description above of an agriculture lesson illustrates how the vocational objectives of the formal curriculum can converge with the norms of assigning children work and responsibility (see section 2.1). Work around the school was nearly always carried out in response to need (e.g. tree-planting to comply with an urgent local government directive, a desire to have an attractive-looking compound) and not coordinated with delivery of the curriculum. This may be because even at home children help with chores such as housework, shamba-work (gardening) and cattle herding and hence, informal learning through doing tends to be taken for granted by teachers.

3.3 Climbing a ladder: Moving through the syllabus and assessment

> We follow the syllabus, which is already prepared for us. That these [pupils] if they enter S6, up to the end of the year, they have already passed through these topics, they are completed. We prepare a scheme of work following the syllabus, we pass through all those topics in the month which we teach. Then you must follow that and if you look at the students' textbook it is married to the syllabus. (Mathematics specialist S5-7AKPJf7:6,)

> A child, I take him from the beginning, we have a monthly exam. After teaching him, teaching after another month you give them a test. You carry on, you assess them. You see how many have got higher marks and how many are below. You exert yourself in the following period. You start again to teach them, we go with them following the syllabus. You arrange work for them. You continue, you continue with them, you again give a test, at the time, for example, last month September. Now you look, meaning, where they have reached. You work yourself, you write work on the board. After that you must assess them again, one by one. If since the beginning in January up to this month they have not [improved], there are five or six who do not understand at all, you have got to decide whether to let them continue to the next class or to return them to start the year again with those who are just starting. (S1 teacher, AUSRm7:6)

Several teachers gave their long-term pedagogical aim as taking the whole class together, through the syllabus (*waende pamoja*). In the past, promotion to the next year was dependant on satisfactory performance in the end of year school examinations. Assessment continues to strongly influence classroom practice, as promotion from S4 to S5 and selection to secondary school after completion of S7 are still dependent on performance in national examinations. Teachers' accounts of their aims and objectives may be likened to a ladder, with well-defined steps. Each pupil starts at the bottom in nursery or S1 and after being taken through the prescribed material is assessed. If they appear to have mastered that step they may then continue to the next.

There were complaints concerning the content and, more commonly and vehemently, the manner of introduction of the new (1996) syllabus. Nonetheless, all teachers accepted that it was the government's prerogative to set a single national syllabus, preferably in consultation with experienced practitioners, and that they, as government employees, were bound to adhere to it. They were also satisfied that the progression of the syllabus matched the intellectual capabilities of corresponding age groups. This corporate loyalty to the curriculum lay at the heart of a fundamental pedagogical dilemma for teachers. At the same time teachers believed all children, throughout the nation, should have a common learning experience, they also recognised that children's achievement in school was moderated by their local environment and individual characteristics, such as natural intelligence, inclination to study, home culture and supportiveness of parents. In practice, this was resolved by defining the pedagogical task as a statistical challenge of trying to progress as many pupils as possible through

the syllabus to success in the PSLE. For less confident teachers, this might mean delivering the syllabus without engaging with individual children and their learning needs.

Informants usually claimed that they helped slower pupils by taking them aside for extra coaching, either during timetabled periods (sometimes dismissing quicker pupils before the end of the lesson) or in their free time. The assumption was that slower pupils require more - more time, more repetition, more practice:

> There were a few who did not do well, they will come during free time so that I can go through corrections with them and **make them equal with** those who did well. (ASPMm9:5, my emphasis)

It was not possible, to gauge how often this style of coaching actually happens. What can be deduced, however, is that teachers' hold a concept of good practice, which is demanding, if not unachievable. Their perceptions of their employment conditions, presented in section four, suggest that there is no extrinsic incentive to voluntarily extend the hours given over to school work, unless pupils are surreptitiously charged for 'tuitions' or the school has a reputation to maintain and a chance of winning a prize for PSLE performance.

When other techniques, such as group work or assigning work according to the pupils' ability, were suggested, teachers generally agreed that these were good ideas but thought them impracticable in their working context. Several times, during the group discussions and informal conversations, teachers said that they knew what different children in their class needed but were unable to provide it. Reasons given included over-sized classes making it impossible to attend to the learning needs of everyone, time-constraints on completing the syllabus, inspectors would not understand and lack of teaching materials or textbooks so that all exercises had to be written on the blackboard.

The educational ladder is a tapering one, i.e. enrolment ratios progressively reduce at higher levels. In the highest performing school visited, only just under half of the 2001 S7 cohort passed the PSLE. Nationally, only around 15% of primary school leavers are accepted into public secondary schools with another 10% finding places in private schools (based on 1999 and 2000 figures in MOEC, 2002). In short, education in Tanzania is a competition with examination results as the single measure of achievement. This gives rise to an impoverished 'jackpot' view of primary education, where, whatever the socio-cultural benefits of education, ultimately success means passing examinations. Many interviewees when asked what pleased them in their work said they were happy when their pupils passed the PSLE and continued to secondary school.

However, there was a counter-discourse to the 'jackpot view'. A small number of teachers, including two of the discussion groups, criticised "some other teachers" for aiming for their pupils to pass examinations rather than understand the material. One group blamed the preoccupation with examinations, together with the predominance of teaching by theory rather than through practicals, for making primary education irrelevant to young people's local context. Teachers, more than parents, are cognisant that primary education in Tanzania has the dual aim of preparing those pupils who will continue to secondary education for the next academic stage of their careers and preparing those who will not for self-reliance, most probably within the locality. Yet, many felt that primary education is not achieving the second aim. The most

comprehensive account of how primary education helps those who fail the PSLE did not relate observed benefits to educational policy or the informant's own teaching objectives:

> Even their life if you enter the village, you find the youth who finished S7 has a better life. You can pass through the village and see the aerials for radios, because they have studied science and they desire to know about the world. I see it helps a lot. August we had a census, we entered into the villages, I saw that in each place, teachers said that truly education has changed people. If you enter the place of someone who has studied, even the environment is good. They know how to take care of their children, they know to send the children to hospital. The period I have stayed here [twenty years] I have seen many changes, for the children who have studied. The state of life is good, for youth to marry it is good. Even conversation, you find if s/he gives an idea, it is a good idea. (AISRf6a:7)

The ladder metaphor can also be extended to teachers' views of their own careers. Many teachers were dissatisfied with their own progress up the educational ladder and aspired to improve their position through acquiring formally certified academic or professional qualifications. Several younger teachers said they would like to take a diploma and I came across two teachers who were, towards that end, studying 'A' levels in their free time. Long service teachers, who had entered teacher training without any secondary education, frequently aspired to take 'O' levels and then upgrade, or had already done so. One motivation for this was that teachers' pension is calculated on last salary and this, in turn, depends on grade. However, it is also true that, for many Tanzanians, climbing the education ladder is a life-long project.

The contractual obligation to deliver the syllabus is only one aspect of teachers' position as government employees. In the next section, I go on to consider teachers' identity as government employees and how their employment conditions, the cause of deep dissatisfaction, contribute to their professional identity and social status.

4. Kazi au wito - teachers as employees

4.1 Teaching as a vocation versus teaching as a job

> In my experience in teaching I have learnt that there are two types of teacher. There are those who are teachers by vocation and there are others who just come to work. S/he doesn't have any sympathy for the children. (AWSUm8a:3).
>
> [A good teacher must] also be someone who exerts himself, someone who likes to help children without being forced. A good teacher exerts himself to do his work well to the benefit of the children. Without this, the work of teaching is very hard, without having a heart you cannot do it. (BGSUm8b:5)

The view that teaching was a vocation was expressed in various ways: "she has a heart to teach" (BPSUf7a:4), "a born teacher" (BKPJm7a:7), "for some teachers it is in the blood" (APSUf9a:7). This discourse represents the generally held view that to be a good teacher requires something extra, which involves both commitment and emotional engagement.

The "teaching is a vocation" (*ualimu ni wito*) discourse is one that has in the past been deployed by government to upbraid teachers to carry out their duties in difficult conditions for modest remuneration. Many teachers did lay claim to the vocation

discourse in exactly this sense with the exception that they considered their salaries as not just modest but inadequate, effectively forcing them to look for supplementary sources of income.

A minority of interviewees used common scripts such as, "teaching is a vocation", "a teacher should not be too fierce", "a teacher should have sympathy with children", "understand their problems", "to develop others as I was developed" in order to present themselves to the interviewer as 'good teachers'. However, it was clear from the emotive defense that was made of this discourse during some of the discussion groups that many teachers identify strongly with vocation. Undoubtedly, many of those who passionately defended the vocation discourse would be prepared to drop their identity as "walimu wa wito", should more lucrative employment become available. They also knew this was unlikely to occur.

From a textbook for trainee teachers:- Z. Mwaduma (1991) *Maadili ya Mwalimu* (Ethics for Teachers), Dar es Salaam, Dar es Salaam University Press p. 54. Translated by Angeline Barrett.

Together with being a job [*kazi*], truly, teaching is more than a job. Teaching is a calling [*wito*]. As some say, teaching is saintly work because it engages and develops the body, mind and spirit, so it is not a job like other work. Therefore, we say teaching is a calling. In other words, it is work for which a person should sacrifice her/himself and s/he will defend it up to her/his death. [...]

But an important issue to observe is that a person, who does this work as a calling, does not do it as a casual labourer does, rather s/he does her/his work like the owner her/himself does. That is to say, a person who is called will do her/his work without worrying that the salary is not large and the standard of living is not high. S/he will be concerned first with service and that s/he may be blessed with her/his daily needs [*aweze kupata riziki yake*]. Because of the type of work, that it is a calling, a person must do it twenty-four hours a day. There is no company or government or private employer who can pay a person to work twenty-four hours a day. Therefore, the service a teacher gives, although it is very big, does not match her/his income. But the happiness of a teacher comes from carrying out the service of educating the children of the populace, who will be the leaders of tomorrow.

Several long service (twenty years or over) teachers, including some of the most talented and committed teachers I met, talked of vocation as a burden that tied them down, rather than a calling which inspired them:

> Truly, us teachers in Tanzania we just hold on as if it is a religion (*tunaishikia kimungumungu tu*). There is no benefit at all. We just work, it's like that. ..... but it is not that we are happy about our work, that we do it. The standard of living is nothing. (BRPKm7:10-11)
>
> ... sometimes the ministry sees us like volunteers. Yes, they say that teaching is a vocation, now a vocation is something which is just frustrating, to just hurt. (BISRm7a:9).

A roughly equal proportion of teachers maintained that teaching should be regarded as a job (*kazi*) rather than a vocation. Two rationales were given for this. First, it was believed that most teachers had not chosen teaching but entered it as the only work available to them. Those who took this stance were often ready to acknowledge that a person might later in their career become reconciled to teaching as a vocation. The second reason was political, in that a small number of informants thought that the 'teaching as a vocation' rhetoric had been abused in order to oblige them to accept

unsatisfactory working conditions (see box above). When these people insisted that they wished teaching to be regarded as a job they were requesting their rights as employees to be respected (i.e. to be paid a livable wage on time and work in schools resourced with basic equipment). In different contexts, the same people talked about teaching as a vocation, giving closely held personal reasons for being dedicated to their work. They were also amongst the most active and respected members of staff within their schools.

A job is bounded, it delineates a position within the workplace whereas a vocation may be identified with a position within society. 'Teacher' certainly was conceived in these terms by virtually all the informants (see section 2.3 above). Teachers' social identity is most distinct in the village. In a town, a teacher is one amongst many educated employees and lives alongside a metropolitan collection of neighbours. In a village, as civil servants and non-native to the area, teachers were part of a highly visible minority. Hence, it is not surprising that village teachers gave the profoundest reasons for regarding teaching as a vocation. Being a teacher had determined their lifestyle and where they lived. Living amongst a tribal group who had different customs from their own, they had learnt their language and learnt how to farm in terrains very different from those they had grown up in. They often lived in trying conditions, with houses that were too small or made of mud, no electricity, poor communications infrastructure and no nearby nursery or secondary school for their children. Even the simple everyday mechanisms of living, such as obtaining clean water and food, could be time-consuming. They often had an ambiguous relationship with the local community, which they compared to that of a priest, at once part of the village community and different. The following two quotes come from a single informant and a single interview:

> [B]ecause many of the people around here have no education and many are farmers, they do not have that love of teachers, good communication. Like this is our teacher and we have faith in her, this is very small. All the time, [*in a small voice*] a teacher seems to be a lonely person, this is heartbreaking. ..... There is a conflict and it is not obvious why. (AISRf6b:4-5)

> I can go to the parents, sit with them and talk. May be there is a marriage, a death, religious matters, I contribute with them with no worries. We are not different from them, there is no difference. (AISRf6a:6)

4.2 Salary and employment conditions

Whether teaching was called vocation or job, low salaries played a profound role in shaping teachers' identity. For many teachers, remuneration was at the very heart of what was wrong with education:

> The thing that can help the living conditions of teachers. *Laughs.* Truly, that is the question. Now that is the responsibility of the government, it should look for a system to improve the lives of teachers, so that they can do their work well. The government should be advised. Because this question, it helps to discourage us. I think I have given you a picture of my situation. I have a wife, I have children who I send to school, all depend on me. Now if the work I am doing does not pay enough to pay for my welfare, do you think I will work well? I won't do my work well, I will have worries. [...] Government should think how it can improve the income of teachers. (BGSUm8:10)

One teacher (whose husband was also a teacher) gave a historical account of the changes she had seen since 1964:

In the year 1970, life began to change, people continued, let us say, until it appeared that the status of a teacher was low in life and in income. But still I did not despise my teaching. I continued, as a mother I was able to take care of my children. But around 1980, things changed, it seemed that without doing something to increase your income, you would find that your money was not enough to reach to the end of the month. And when you are short of money even your work, it will not be as it was because you will have worries. What should I do?

Many people, many teachers started going into business, may be farming. You would find that your spare time was used up with these things, in which, in days gone by if you left school you were busy with pupils' exercise books, preparation and making teaching aids. Now we were squeezed, there you are continuing with your classroom work but here you are looking at your income. (AISRf6:2)

This account describes some of the consequences of low salaries. Many of the attitudes demonstrated by teachers in this study, including attitudes to myself as a visiting researcher, are typical of systems where salaries have dropped below a certain livable level (also observed in Malawi by Davies *et al.*, 2003) . For example, teachers expected to be paid an allowance, colloquially known as *posho* (derived from the English word 'portion' signifying a serving of ugali, the cheapest staple food), for participation in discussion groups. This was symptomatic of a general civil service culture in which generous allowances are paid for participation in seminars and these constitute significant supplements to salaries.

The national context of currency devaluation and high unemployment, which leads to low job security, especially in the higher paying private sector needs to be borne in mind. Cultivating second sources of income, such as a small business or farm, is the norm for salaried employees, even those who are relatively highly paid. Such projects are also forms of investment. Having said that, not all teachers involved in this study did have an income-raising project and this in itself indicated their poor financial position. The general pattern seemed to be that some teachers in town areas gave private tuitions; in Shinyanga's rural areas, farming was a common source of second income and in Mkuranga very few teachers had a project. It was in this last district that teachers appeared the most demoralised by low salaries.

On the whole, teachers did not suffer from immediate problems associated with absolute poverty, such as hunger and disease. This was largely due to their basic knowledge concerning nutrition and health. However, they found the inability to progress or improve themselves (*kujiendeleza*) in the medium to long term demoralising. Amongst the frustrations mentioned were not being able to build a house, acquire the capital to start a project, study an academic course, the constant struggle to pay older children's school fees or find the fare to visit close relatives in distant parts of the country. One young teacher, three years into his career looked bleakly into the future:

> If I knew that in ten years time my life would be OK, I would have a good house, good standard of living, ... I would prefer to continue with teaching. But when I see that the way things are now is how they will be in the future, if I get a chance to do anything besides teaching, I will leave. (BKPMm9:12)

Teaching does offer job security, a fact appreciated by teachers in Shinyanga town, where a recent downturn in the local economy had lead to many redundancies in the private sector. Whilst teachers' salaries are low (informants reported incomes ranging from $58 for a beginning teacher to just over $100 net for a long service teacher), there was no one for whom this was not a significant proportion of their overall income.

The low level of remuneration, as well as non-payment of allowances (e.g. vacation allowance, sickness pay, establishment allowance) and late payment of salaries, gave teachers the impression that they were not valued by government or society:

> Even the leaders above us do not listen much to teachers because we find surprising deductions in our salary. These cause teachers to be discouraged in their work. It makes teachers to not like their work, to hate it. The work seems to be a community sentence. [*ka-i ya adhabu*] (ATPMm9:13)

4.3 Teachers' working context

As well as their own welfare, teachers were bitterly aggrieved by under-resourcing of their schools, which made it extremely difficult if not impossible to do their work well. Over-large classes exercised teachers the most. In 2002, UPE was introduced with the compulsory enrolment of all seven years olds in S1. Consequently, all schools visited had large S1 classes, frequently with over a hundred children. In large town schools, over-sized classes were a problem throughout the school. For two of the interviewees, class size verged on being an obsession as they repeatedly returned to the same complaint:

> Now it is hard, students fill the room, sitting on the floor at the front, right up to the teacher's desk, it is even difficult to write on the blackboard because pupils fill up the space. I have to use a loud voice, the children are many and I can't help them one by one. To wander around to mark the work is difficult. Marking is difficult. For example I teach 3 or 4 periods per day. With 80 children in a class that means I have 320 exercise books to mark. How can I mark all those and be ready to enter class the next day? (ATPKf8:1)

Other complaints regarding resourcing were understaffing of village schools, lack of classrooms, shortage of pupils' desks, textbooks and teaching aids. Informants repeatedly blamed under-resourcing for restricting their pedagogic options. For example, without textbooks it was difficult to use group work and assign children work according to their ability. Under-resourcing was also seen as indicative of how government and society undervalued teachers' work. Another common complaint concerned lack of in-service training to keep academic knowledge and teaching skills up to date. No doubt teachers' desire "to improve themselves" (*kujiendeleza*) and the practice of paying seating allowances for attendance increased teachers' enthusiasm for in-service training, most especially when linked to upgrading and hence, salary pay rises. However, it did appear that there was a genuine need for more in-service training in Shinyanga Rural, where some informants had had no form of professional development in the last decade. This contrasted to Pwani, where several donor projects were concerned with improving educational quality, there was a network of Teacher Resource Centres and district offices, overseeing a smaller number of schools, were more active in organizing seminars.

External supervision in the form of school visits from district education officers, inspectors or project staff boosted teachers' morale, making them feel their work was 'known'. The size of staff at most village schools (2 - 5 teachers) made outside support crucial. Several teachers said they had learnt new ideas for classroom practice through collegial networks that extended to neighbouring schools. However, whilst organisational contexts could make a great deal of difference to teachers' attitudes to and performance of their work, they did not contribute to the formation of teacher identity

to the same extent as the education system, national social values and local social contexts. Hence, they are of less interest to this study.

Low salaries and under-resourcing of schools has not only made teachers' work more difficult but has contributed to a decline in their status. Many teachers delivered their bitterest condemnation of low salaries and poor housing with reference to the impression this made on others, most especially parents:

> But you find that a teacher, who is required to be a village leader, he sleeps on the floor, his salary is small. He walks around, his children do not have shoes. This is the situation. At least if we were built for in these areas, but in the village now we are ashamed. This is the thing that lets us down. Our work is not commensurate with our situation, with our income. Teachers' income is lower even than that of a farmer. (A teacher who was very active within the local community, BKPJm7:10)

> When you come from that house it shows that you are a lowly person, your status is low. (A teacher living in a school house, BUSRf8:12)

The vocation discourse offers an alternative basis for status, derived from service to the community and the responsibility of teachers' position. It imbues teaching with dignity, countering the demoralisation resulting from feeling neglected and undervalued by the employer. This may explain why some teachers were so passionate in their insistence that teaching should be considered as a vocation. It also compliments concepts of *malezi* in providing a rationale for conscientious and responsible service, which is as real to teachers as formal accountability. However, as well as the moral and emotional commitment of vocation, teachers need a reasonable level of security if they are to have the personal resources to be effective in the classroom. Perhaps this is why some of the teachers who care most about their pupils are ready to reject the rhetoric of vocation in order to draw attention to their rights as employees.

5.0 Discussion and comparison with English Teachers

In England, it is possible to identify two educational ideologies. The first, associated with educational planning by bureaucratic-based government, rests on the metaphor of industry for mass education. Within this ideology, the analogy has shifted since the nineteenth century from that of a Fordist manufacturing industry, with teachers as factory floor technicians, to a post-Fordist service industry, casting teachers as professionals delivering a quality service (as illustrated by Darling-Hammond, 1990; Caldwell, 1997). Teachers, however, hold a humanist ideology, which views education as an individual project. This tradition, which in relation to mass education can be traced back to the influential European educationalists, Pestalozzi and Froebel, emphasizes the development of the whole child, facilitated through interpersonal relationships with teachers. Froebel likened the child to a plant, needing cognitive, emotional and physical nourishment within a supportive well-tended environment to realize his or her full potential. If the child is a whole person, so also is the teacher, and hence the teacher engages her whole self, her personality, interests and skills in a nurturing relationship (as argued in Nias' landmark study, 1989).

Tanzanian and English teachers both have a broad holistic view of education related to beliefs concerning bringing up children shared with wider society. However, whilst the

English place an emphasis on nurturing, the corresponding Tanzanian concept of *malezi* has an emphasis on guiding and directing. The difference in primary school teachers' views is only partly attributable to the fact that English primary pupils (aged 5 – 11 years) are younger than their Tanzanian counterparts (aged 7 – 14+ years). More fundamentally, whilst English and Tanzanian teachers both hold humanist ideologies, the humanism of Europe takes horticulture as its organising metaphor and the humanism of Africa looks to the family.

In a family, each member has a defined position in relation to every other member. The Swahili language has a greater number of names for family relations than English and so, position within the extended family structure is more exactly defined. Examples are *mama mzazi* (mother), *baba mkubwa* (uncle on the father's side older than the father), *dada* (older sister) and *wifi* (sister-in-law, only used between women). Younger family members are expected to defer to the wisdom of older members, showing respect for age and experience. Older members have a responsibility to guide and advise their younger relatives. Taking the family is an organizing metaphor for society means that within any community (e.g. household, village, office) people may be assigned titles, which define their relations with others and it is commonplace to address people by their title rather than by name. So, the village chairman is greeted as *mwenyekiti* (chairman), a craftsperson of any type (carpenter, tailor, etc) is called *'fundi'*, teachers are greeted as *'walimu'*, a bus conductor may respectfully address a female passenger as *shangazi* (father's sister) and so on. Hence, when Tanzanian teachers claim to regard pupils as their children, they are describing the relationship between any responsible adult and child and not the exclusive interpersonal relationship the English associate with parenting:

> The relationship between a teacher and his students is a normal one, like between a parent and his children. (BKPMm9a:28).

The Aims and objectives of Primary Education

From: Ministry of Education and Culture (1995) *Education and Training Policy*, Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania, p. 5.

- To enable every child to understand and appreciate his or her human person, acquire, value respect and enrich our common cultural background and moral values, social customs and traditions as well as national unity, identity, ethic and pride;
- To provide opportunity and enable every child to acquire, appreciate and effectively use Kiswahili and to respect the language as a symbol of national unity, identity and pride;
- To enable every child to understand the fundamentals of the National Constitution as well as the enshrined human and civic rights, obligations and responsibilities of every citizen;
- To enable every child to acquire basic learning tools of literacy, communication, numeracy, and problem solving as well as basic learning content of integrated relevant knowledge skills and attitudes needed for survival and development to full capacity;
- To provide the child with the foundations of self-initiative, self-advancement and self-confidence;
- To prepare the child for second level education (i.e. secondary, vocational, technical and continuing education) and
- To prepare the child to enter the world of work.

There is a rough consensus between the objectives of educational policy and the perspectives of teachers as to the socio-cultural, citizenship, academic and vocational goals of primary schooling (see the box above). Further, these are broadly compatible with more generally held views within society of adults' responsibility to guide and direct children, in preparation for their future role and responsibility. The Swahili for 'primary education' - *elimu ya msingi* - literally means 'foundational education'. What emerges is a value-based coherence across policy, practitioners and Tanzanian culture. The examination system interrupts this holistic view of education. Empowered by its selective function, it turns the parent-child analogy into a preoccupation with examination success as the determinant of a child's future. By ranking schools according to PSLE results and awarding prizes to the highest performing schools as indicated by this single measure, the education system colludes with parental ambitions to submerge the broader perspective still retained by many teachers. The result is the jackpot view of educational purpose and the one-track ladder view of educational progress. Teachers' pedagogic role is reduced to that of delivering the content of a centrally determined syllabus. The division of responsibilities into the *kitaaluma* and *malezi* domains may be regarded as teachers' device for simultaneously holding a restricted and extended construction of educational purpose. With respect to *kitaaluma* teachers' professional role is highly restricted (i.e. delivering the syllabus and enabling children to pass examinations), when compared to English teachers' views of their pedagogic objectives. By contrast, the *malezi* domain assigns teachers a highly extended professional identity in comparison to that of English teachers, insofar as it defines for them a role and position within the local community.

An exception needs to be made for S1 and 2 teachers, who are a comfortable distance away from national assessment. The curriculum provides them with a clear pedagogic task that coincides with their own perceptions of pupils' learning needs, namely the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic. Hence, it is arguable that there is a greater integration of the two domains in the lower years of primary. This is despite the changes to the syllabus in 1996 when the S1 and 2 curriculum was expanded to include English, vocational skills and science. Teachers' response has been to persist with their allegiance to the three *R*s (*KK3*) as the primary learning objectives for their pupils.

Concepts of *malezi* and vocation compliment each other in providing a moral rationale for professional responsibility and an extended professional identity as an example of respectable conduct and citizenship for pupils and the local community. However, the religious model of vocation also has its limitations and these are becoming more apparent as attitudes to education change. In the past, primary school teachers went out into the local community and surrounding villages to cajole parents into sending their children to school. Now, town schools are inundated with enrolments and even in the villages recently introduced strategies to achieve UPE have been effective in persuading parents to voluntarily bring their children to school. The (welcome) demise of the proselytising aspect of teachers' work has diminished its resemblance to the religious version of vocation. However, the greatest weakness of the religious model, as far as teachers are concerned, is its failure to address issues of employment conditions. Teachers' emotional commitment to their pupils and moral commitment to their professional role and identity cannot be compared to religious fervour. Their commitment is enabled by a contractual agreement, which should guarantee personal

security, adequate training and provision of sufficient material resources in the workplace - the essential ingredients of professional competence. In this respect, the concept of vocation held by English public service workers prior to the reforms implemented from the mid-eighties onwards may shed light on the Tanzanian vocation versus job (*wito au kazi*) debate. Workers voluntarily adhered to an ethical code of practice and invested personal and emotional resources in work that they saw as an important service to individuals and also society. In return, they were assured a reasonable standard of living and long-term job security. Osborn *et al.* (2000) characterise teachers' end of the bargain as a "Professional covenant based on trust, and commitment to education as a form of personal development". The Tanzanian dilemma serves to highlight the significance of workers' personal security as an enabling context for such a professional covenant.

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Appendix 2.2: Transcript of verbal presentation to discussion meetings

Presentation to a group of ten teachers from one Ward in Shinyanga Rural District, as part of discussion meeting

30th May 2003

Preamble

Explanaton that I was a secondary school teacher in Tanzania, then returned to England to study Masters and now PhD on Tanzanian primary school teachers' perceptions of their work. The fieldwork was carried out last year in two regions - Coast & Shinyanga - and two districts within each region - Mkuranga & Kibaha in Pwani and Shinyanga Rural and Shinyanga Municipality. I conducted thirty-four interviews with teachers, including Mwl. AISR and Mwl. BISR, who are with us today, and case studies of two schools, one in Shinyanga Municipality and one in Mkuranga, where I stayed for a week in order to make myself more familiar with primary education in Tanzania.

Objectives of research: the first is to discover the perceptions [*mitazamo*] of primary school teachers and how these depend on their environment [*mazingira*]. Now 'mazingira' can have many meanings, social enviroment of the whole country, customs and traditions [*mila & desturi*]. There is the school environment, local community, the state of the school, available equipment, education system. If we say environment it has many meanings.

The second is to compare perceptions of Tanzanian and English teachers. Because, if we start to compare, both sides we understand better. There are some things that we see as normal and don't see as unusual. But a visitor may be surprised - in the morning they do cleaning - its something seen as unusual. There everyone has learnt that there are schools where they emphasis cleanliness or that it is not in all schools. So we can try to compare a little Tanzania and England.

Categories

When I did the interviews I saw that it was possible to divide perceptions into three categories. There is teaching [ufundishaji], academic/professional *work [kazi ya kitaaluma*], there is care [*malezi*]. Third, a teacher is an employee [*mwajiriwa*], in particular I will consider the question , "Is teaching a vocation [*wito*] or work?"

Now if we start with teaching and care. There is a little difference between teachers in village and town schools. Both talked about teaching and care, but town teachers were more concerned with [*lengia zaidi*] teaching and village teachers talked about both, so by comparison they were more concerned with care. When we begin the discussions, perhaps you can look at the question, "Why is there this difference?"

Ufundishaji

Now if we look at teaching. I have put three sections here. I asked teachers to describe one period which they had taught. Many, when they began to describe gave a long description of the explanation. Not that they just entered and then, "blah blah blah", it

was more than that. Many tried their best to involve [kushirikisha] the children but involving the children was *inside* their explanation. For example, they used 'question & answer' and also, teaching aids [*zana* - nearly always visual aids]. Many said it was good to use teaching aids. They used their teaching aids to make the explanation easier, because if the children saw they would understand straight away. When I asked one teacher to describe a lesson and she said that she had not taught this week, only done revision. Another said, "I have not taught this week we did tests." This is not an answer you can get in England because an English teacher sees that even if we do revision it is still teaching. Even if the children do a test, I am still teaching because I have compiled the questions in order to develop the ability of the children. For some teachers, it is like being a manger in the classroom, they arrange activities for the children which will develop their ability. But also in England students are not attentive. If you start giving an explanation they have already begun to start playing or dozing, they are not listening. Tanzanian pupils have a greater ability to listen.

The second thing that I saw was that here, teachers do not have any problems following the syllabus. The government has issued a syllabus and they should follow the guidelines. If I asked what objective did you have for your class for the year, they said to follow the syllabus until the end of the year and then to pass the exam. So I saw that education is like a ladder [*ngazi*]. You start at the bottom with S1, pass through the syllabus, pass the exam and continue with the second step, S2. Upto S7 and if the child is fortunate s/he will continue on to secondary. As you climb the ladder becomes narrower, this is because you find fewer pupils in S7 then S1 and even fewer pupils continue to secondary, the space has reduced in the national education system.

Now to sum up one and two, I tried to think of an illustrative picture and this picture is not very good, you can help me to improve it. To teach now is like a game of throwing and catching a ball. A teacher has a bucket of balls and wants the children to receive them, the ball is like the explanation. The teacher throws and the children try their best to catch them. Some are quick, they catch the ball easily and quickly, they grasp it straight away; others are slow, they struggle, the first time they have not got it, the teacher has to throw it again and think of another way to throw his/her ball so that the pupils can catch it. Some students, you think they have already caught the ball you find that some, like this one here, they have dropped it. They have already dropped it, so you have to return again. Now, a good teacher knows if the children have caught the ball or not yet. And if some have not yet caught it well, s/he follows them up, to think of other strategies for making the ball arrive. The teacher follows each one.

Malezi

We have arrived at care [*malezi*]. Here, we can say that Tanzanian and English teachers resemble. Both see that care is inside their work and care is very important. Many teachers in Northern Europe see this but in Southern Europe or Russia, they see that children get care from home, so when they arrive at school they are already are disciplined/good mannered [*wana adabu*]. But when you start to look deeper inside the meaning of 'malezi' you find that English and Tanzanian teachers differ. In England, we see that the meaning of 'care' is to serve/provide for [*hudumia*] the child, which is there in Tanzania. But over and above this is to direct children and if they demonstrate bad habits/behaviour to correct them. Which is there also in England but you can say that the balance is different, that the English place greater emphasis on providing for children and here you place greater emphasis on directing children.

So here, there is to direct and correct children even outside of the classroom. If you find that children are fighting or dirty, even outside the classroom, you can correct them right there and then. Second, another way in which children learn, you give them errands. For example, you tell children to prepare tea and maybe the child adds the tea leaves too early, you have to correct her and she learns right there. That is another way that a child learns, especially to match her environment, a child is given a task and then corrected.

I saw that in some schools, not all, it had become a little too much, that teachers take the children as their assistants. They assign the child a task at the time that s/he should be in class. S/he misses a period because s/he has been given work, like to go to town, or to cook for visitors. You can find sometimes, that if teachers have not thought about what is happening in the class, the child misses his/her lesson.

The third point, another way that pupils learn, they look at their teachers, the way s/he dresses, walks, handwriting on the board, and they copy their teacher. They take their teacher like an example or mirror. And some, especially in the village but also in town, said that a teacher is not only an example in front of pupils but even in front of the local community. They look at me, they want to see if my conduct is good and they can copy it. Here, the English see that you have been given a very large load, because teachers cannot forget their responsibilities [madaraka]. A school child meets you at the market. "Ah, mwalimu", if you're walking along the road, "Ah mwalimu, shikamoo mwalimu", everywhere a teacher goes "mwalimu.". If you go to a meeting, "mwalimu welcome". Even when you go to the graveyard, they write there "the late mwl. so-and-so". Different from England, when a teacher enters his/her car or gets on the bus and goes home, no one knows that s/he is a teacher. And in English you cannot call him "Teacher, teacher" you say "Mr. so-and-so, Miss so-and-so", you can't say "teacher". When the weekend comes s/he forgets that s/he is a teacher, s/he is the same as others.

Another thing that some teachers said, it is necessary to take the pupils like your own children, so that you care about their future life. And if you do this, you are encouraged to teach them well so that they may have a good life in the future. Now looking at all of this, I thought you could get a picture that teachers take their pupils as their own family. But when I thought more about family, in a Tanzanian family, parents are not on their own, there are other people who help. May be if mama has a journey, the children can sleep at an aunt's. there are others there, if there is a problem, a child has a bad characteristic or you can't send them to school, people may come and contribute, to contribute money or advice. In the same way, teachers are not on their own. When teachers see that parents respect them and help them, they can work well. But in places where parents do not care much about education, teachers' work becomes more difficult. If a school has stayed a long time without getting a guest, teachers can become discouraged, "Our work does not show, the district do not care what we do here". If a school gets many guests, teachers' work shows and they get advice about problems arising at the school, it makes teachers' work easier.

To get a picture for England, this a picture that has been around for a long time, not my own picture, that teachers are required to care for a child like making a plant grow in a garden. So, a teacher has to ensure the environment provides for his/her needs, s/he gets love, like the sun, s/he is secure, not afraid in the class, s/he knows that other children cannot hit him, s/he is certain of food and that equipment which is needed is there, books are there. You can say that a teacher should serve/provide for [*hudumia*] a

child, to ensure that the environment is good. More than this, if you think about plants, each plant has its own characteristics, some have fruit, some are tall, some short, some have flowers. Like this, English teachers see that each child has his/her own characteristics and talents. It is necessary to be concerned with each individual pupil [*kulengia mwanafunzi mmoja mmoja*], and his/her talents and to help his/her needs. Here, many teachers tire themselves out because they feel they should care for each child, all his/her needs. Something which is impossible, you cannot know the thoughts of all the students when they are many (English teachers see that 30 pupils in a class are many). All the same, they try their best.

Teacher as Employee

The last section, a teacher is an employee, inside service. There is a question, is teaching a vocation [*wito*] or work? Some say that is is a calling and some say it is work. We can say teaching is a calling because if a teacher does not like children and does not like his work he cannot work well. So, it is a must that teachers have a heart to teach, therefore we can say teaching is a calling. And this is also in England, that because we work with children and children have many needs, a teacher must have a heart to love them. The second point, some teachers, especially here in Shinyanga, I asked them why they decided to become a teacher. They said they had liked the way their own teachers taught, especially the way they were. They liked their strategies for teaching but more than this, their clothes, their language, their habits/behaviour. So they had acquired a certain picture of what a teacher is. And they decided they wanted that now, they wanted to be like their teachers. But when they entered teaching they found that the teachers' standard of living had dropped, that the salary had dropped. When they arrived at their first school, they are told, "OK, you can sleep in that hut over there." Then they felt bad because they had not expected that it would be like this. Then when the end of month arrives they go to collect their salary and they are told it is not yet ready. The salary is late, may be after 3 or 4 months it will arrive. So they find that their life is difficult, it is difficult because they have a picture of what a teacher should be, e.g. smart appearance, but when they return home they do not have an iron, there is no electricity. Or a village expert, they want to keep up to date but there are no newspapers or books in a village. So they find that the image they had of teachers is unattainable. They struggle, they are sad and it is possible to give up hope in their work.

There are some who are clever/crafty [*wajanja*], when they say that teaching is a vocation they are making a political point, that they have to take it as a calling because if they take it as work, the salary is not comparable with the work that they do. So, the word 'wito' oppresses them. Because each time they get a problem they are told to tolerate it, teaching is a vocation. If salary is late, tolerate its wito; if they have not received their allowance, tolerate, its wito; they see that all these problems rather than being listened to they are told to tolerate, its wito. So now they say that they do not want to hear that word 'wito' again because it has been misused. From now on we say that teaching is work.

Some say, yes teaching is work because many teachers enter work not because they felt they were called but because they could not find any other employment. So teaching was the only employment that was available but it was not that they wanted to be teachers. Then, in town, some teachers when they talked about their work, I saw that for them it was work, when they entered school they did their work but when they left, it was just work in school. Meaning, in their conversation they talked about teaching, not care, because they knew that when I enter the classroom, I teach, that's my work and when I

return home I would have left work at school. Some, they have started, not to the extent of England, but they have begun to talk about work as if it has boundaries, it has a beginning and end and when they leave work they are not teachers.

Then, others, especially young men, they took their work like work [*kazi* means work but is also used for career] which can improve them. They applied themselves to work, they tried their best so that when the DEO comes s/he would see that they are doing their work well and they may be promoted. But, there are their colleagues posted to villages, who do not get visitors and think, "Who sees my work, it does not show. I see that there is no development, this work does not help me to improve myself". So there he gives up hope in his work.

Conclusion

Now we come to the conclusion. Truly, we can say that the conclusion is not yet ready [*haijaiva* - has not yet ripened], still I am considering it. First, I see if you sum up you can say that teaching is very broad and this may cause teachers to fail to concentrate on classroom teaching. Meaning teachers teach in class, then also they mark and some have far too many books to mark, so a teacher may teach two periods and then sit marking in the office for four periods. Or maybe, the school is short of teachers, so you find there are only four teachers, one teacher has gone to look for wood for building a new classroom, one teacher has gone to the bank, one teacher is doing refurbishment of a house or has another activity and one teacher is the classroom. Because of this work of running the school, they forget the work in the classroom. May be guests or parents arrive or there is a funeral so some teachers have gone to the funeral, so just a few remain. Now if you compare with England, you might think that we are concerned only with the classroom, it is too much.

Also I saw that many teachers, not all, but many they have experience, they have strategies for teaching, they are able to teach or they know them theoretically but sometimes implementation is unsuccessful. May be because of problems of low standard of living, a teacher arrives in the classroom and s/he is able to teach well but today her/his thoughts are at home, perhaps a child is ill. S/he is there in body but mentally, truly, s/he is not there. Or, they know that it is good to make visual aids but there is no manila, no equipment and no money to buy it, so it is not implemented because of the environment. Or, they know that you can divide children into groups but the children are many and there is no time to arrange activities for each group. But it is not that they do not know the strategy, they know the strategy but cannot use it. Or, many told me that sports is important, in particular it attracts truants to school. But they say that there is no ball, or only one ball for whole school or no pitch. If you ask them why, they say that we went to the school committee to ask for one but it was not given a priority. So the teachers saw that games was important but the parents or school committee had a different view. Meaning the school committee prioritise academic success, they want their children to do well in the exams and continue with their education.

To finish I saw that many times, a project is brought from outside and it may be concerned with improving teaching but teachers themselves see that teaching depends on many things. That classroom teaching cannot be separated from other things. It depends on help available from other people like parents, other teachers, if teachers in one school do not have an understanding or they see that the headteacher does not care about them it can effect their work. Or if the leaders, if the school feels that it is ,

forgotten on the periphery of things, it has not had visitors for many days, this also can impact on teaching. The national system of education, like I said education is like a ladder, everyone follows one route. Now someone may come from outside and say, "Why don't you go here? Or there?" But if it does not agree with the national system of education its not easy for teachers to implement. Or maybe, if I say, "Why are you always marking? Why do you mark every period? Why don't you just mark some of the work?" But if you know that when the inspectors come they will ask to see the exercise books and ask, "Why have you not marked here?", it is a problem. The standard of living of teachers, a teacher wants to teach well but if there are problems at home, his thoughts will be somewhere else. Or, in order to get a little income, s/he has a project because the salary is not enough. Then, as I was talking about 'malezi', may be the concern with explanation in class matches the importance of direction in upbringing of children [malezi]. This results from the traditions and customs of the society as a whole and a teacher cannot be outside their culture. Then, the environment, the state of the school, whether there are desks and classrooms.

Appendix 2.3: Letter sent to schools after completion of fieldwork

Angeline Barrett
G22, 8-10, Berkeley Square
BRISTOL
BS8 1JA
UK
e-mail: Angleine.Barrett@bristol.ac.uk

2nd Agosti 2003.

Mwalimu Mkuu
Shule ya Msingi «Shule»
S.L.P «SLP»
«Mji»
«Mkoa»

YAH: <u>UTAFITI WA Ph.D.</u>

Naomba nichukue nafasi hii kuwashukuru walimu wa shule yako kwa ushirikiano wao katika utafiti wangu juu ya maada ya "Mitazamo ya walimu". Hasa ninapenda kuwashukuru Mwl. «A» na Mwl. «B» kwa kukubali kuhojiwa na Mwl. «Majadiliano_A» na «Majadiliano_B» kwa kushirika katika majadiliano.

Mawazo yaliyotolewa wakati wa mahojiano na majadiliano yamechangia katika makala niliyoandika ambayo nakala moja nimeambatanisha pamoja na barua hii. Ninaomba uwape walimu wenye shauku nafasi ya kuisoma. Bado ninaendelea kuandika makala ya kiingereza, kwa hiyo mwalimu akijiisikia kuchangia mawazo mengine nitafurahi kuyapokea kwa maandishi.

Ninawashukuru tena na ninawatakia kheri na mafanikio mengi katika kazi zenu.

Angeline Barrett
PhD Research Student
Graduate School of Education
University of Bristol

Transcript of Appendix 2.3

From: Angeline Barrett
Date: 2 August 2004

To: The Headteacher
.....Primary School

Re: Ph.D. Research

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the teachers at your school for their co-operation with my research on "Teachers' Percpetions". In particular, I would like to thank Mwl. ..... and Mwl. ..... for agreeing to be interviewed and Mwl. ..... and Mwl. ..... for participating in a discussion meeting.

The ideas/opinions that were put forward in the interviews and discussions contributed towards the article I wrote, a copy of which is attached to this letter. I request that you give it to any teachers who may be interested to read it. I am still continuing to write articles in English. Therefore, should a teacher wish to contribute any other idea, I would be happy to receive it in writing.

I thank you again and wish you every success in your work.

Angeline Barrett
PhD Research Student
Graduate School of Education
University of Bristol

Appendix 2.4: Feedback document for schools

A copy of this document was sent to all schools, which came into contact with the research in anyway, together with the letter of thanks in Appendix 2.3.

Mitazamo ya Walimu wa Shule za Msingi Tanzania kuhusu Wajibu wao na Hadhi yao

Angeline Barrett
(Chuo Kikuu cha Bristol, Uingereza)

Utangulizi

Makala haya yanawakilisha sehemu ya utafiti uliofanyika kwa ajili ya kusomea shahada ya juu ya udaktari wa falsafa (Ph.D.) kuhusu mitazamo ya walimu wa shule za msingi Tanzania. Kwa ujumla utafiti huu una malengo mawili. Lengo la kwanza ni kugundua mitazamo ya walimu wa shule za msingi Tanzania kuhusu kazi ya ualimu na jinsi ambavyo mitazamo hiyo inavyotegemea na mazingira yao. La pili ni kulinganisha na mitazamo ya walimu waingereza na dhana yao ya 'professionalism', kama inavyoelezwa katika vitabu vya taaluma ili wanataaluma wa elimu afrika na ulaya wazidi kuelewana.

Takwimu zilikusanywa katika mikoa miwili ya Shinyanga (wilaya ya Shinyanga Vijijini na Manispaa ya Shinyanga), na Pwani (wilaya ya Kibaha, Kibaha Mji Mdogo na Mkuranga) kati ya Oktoba 2002 na Mei 2003. Makala haya yanazungumzia matokeo ya mahojiano na walimu 34 wa shule za msingi, na vikao vitatu vya majadiliano katika kila mkoa vilivyohusisha washiriki kati ya watano hadi kumi na sita. Wajumbe wa vikao hivi vya majadiliano walikuwa ni walimu wakuu, walimu wa kawaida, pamoja na maafisa elimu na wakaguzi wa wilaya wachache.

Shughuli hizo za majadiliano na mahoijiano zilihusisha maswali yafuatayo:

1. Walimu wa shule za msingi wanauelezeje wajibu wao, hadhi yao na mahusiano yao na watu wengine kama wanafunzi, wazazi, jumuia inayowazunguka, serikali na jamii kwa ujumla?
2. Walimu wa shule za msingi wana uelewa gani kuhusu ufundishaji na kujifunza kwa watoto pamoja na malengo na faida ya elimu ya msingi?
3. Ni kwa jinsi gani mitazamo ya walimu kuhusu elimu na ualimu inavyotegemeana na mazingira ya shule, mfumo wa elimu nchini na mila na desturi za Tanzania?

Mitazamo ya walimu inatengeka katika sehemu tatu. Mbili kati ya hizo ni sehemu ya kitaaluma na ya malezi zinazohusisha wajibu wao kazini na katika jumuia inayowazunguka. Sehemu ya tatu inahusika na hadhi za walimu katika jamii na hadhi yao kama waajiriwa wa serikali. Sehemu hii itafafanuliwa kwa kuzingatia swali, 'Je, ualimu ni wito au kazi?'

1. Malezi - Mwalimu ni mlezi wa pili

> Wao wanafunzi, kwanza, wanaona mwalimu kama msaidizi wao, mkombozi wao, ndiyo mwelekezaji wao wa mambo yote mazuri wanayotegemea katika maisha yao. Wanamchukulia kama ndiyo baba yao, mtaalamu wa mambo yanaoletwa shuleni, halafu mlezi wao. Kwa hiyo sasa wanaamini sababu kila nitakawaambia lazima watanifuata tu. Lazima watanifuata sababu mimi nitawakomboa. "Hawa ndiyo ni wakombozi yetu hawa, maisha yetu". Kila nikiwaambia wanamtegemea sana mwalimu. (Mwalimu, Shinyanga Vijijini)

Walimu walijiona kama wazazi au walezi wa pili:

> Malezi ya walimu ni kama familia na mwanafunzi huwa kama mmoja wa familia ya mwalimu nje na ndani ya mazingira ya shule. (Majadiliano kwa Mlandizi, 30-04-2003).

Walimu wa Uingereza na Tanzania wote wanaona kwamba malezi ni sehemu muhimu ya kazi yao. Hata hivyo, uelewa wao juu ya malezi unatofautiana. Wa Tanzania wanapendelea kusema shule ni kama familia na wanafunzi ni kama watoto wao. Wa Ulaya wanaona kwamba shule ni kama bustani, watoto kama miti na mwalimu ni mtunza wa bustani. Hivyo, walimu wana wajibu wa kuwahudumia watoto na kuhakikisha mazingira ya shule yanatosheleza mahitaji yao. Wanasisitiza kwamba walimu wanatakiwa kuwa karibu na watoto na ufundishaji hutakiwa kulingana na tabia na vipaji vya kila mmoja. Hapo, walimu watanzania wanakubaliana na wenzao wa Uingereza ingawa wanasisitiza zaidi kwamba walimu wanatakiwa kuwaelekeza watoto na kuwarekebisha wakikosea. Kuelekeza ipo pia katika maelewano ya malezi Uingereza ingawa haijapewa msisitizo mkubwa kulinganisha na Tanzania.

Maana ya kuwa mzazi mzuri ni kuwaelekeza watoto katika tabia zinazokubalika na jamii na kuwaeleza maarifa yanayowawezesha kujitegemea katika mazingira ya Tanzania ya kisasa. Maana ya kuelekeza tabia ni mwalimu mwenyewe hutakiwa kuwa mfano wa haiba na mwenendo mzuri na kurekebisha watoto wakionyesha tabia nbaya:

> Mwalimu mzuri anatakiwa awe na tabia nzuri. [...] Kuelekeza watoto wakati wanapotoka. Watoto wengine wanaweza kupiganapigana, we unaacha. Hapa hujasaidia kitu, kwa hiyo inatakiwa uwasaidie. Hata akiumwa siyo lazima usubiri mpaka kumpelekia wazazi wake. Umshughulikie, mtabie halafu mpeleke kwake. (Mwalimu, Kibaha)

Kwa ajili ya kuelezea maarifa kwa kulinganisha na mazingira, walimu wanatumia mbinu za aina tatu. Kwanza walimu wanaelezea kwa maneno umuhimu wa usafi wa mwili na mazingira yanayowazunguka. Aidha, katika ufundishaji wao darasani wanaelezea maarifa mengine kama vile jinsi la kumsaidia mama mjamzito na umuhimu wa kupanda miti. Mbinu ya pili ni kwa vitendo, walimu kama wazazi wanaweza kuwatuma wanafunzi, kama vile kuvuna shamba la shule au kuwapikia wageni chai. Mwalimu anawaelekeza shughuli zao na wanapokosea anawarekebisha.

Mbinu ya tatu ni mwalimu kuwa mfano wa tabia zinazotakiwa. Kwa mfano mwalimu kutokuwa mlevi. Mfano mwingine ni kwa mwalimu mwenye maarifa ya afya kumwahisha mgonjwa matibabuni. Mwisho, faida ya elimu inaonekana katika maisha yake na nyumbani kwake. Hii ni kwa maana watu wanasema mwalimu ni kioo, mwanafunzi akimtazama anaona maisha yake mbele yatakuwaje akiendelea kusoma. Na siyo mwanafunzi tu, hata jumuia inayowazungukia hutegemea kuona faida ya elimu wakimtazama mwalimu. Wahojiwa wengine walikumbuka walipokuwa wanafunzi wa shule ya msingi, waliwatazama walimu wao na wakahamasishwa kusoma ili baadaye wawe kama walimu wao. Kwa hiyo, mwalimu hawezi kuacha madaraka akitoka

shuleni. Awe popote, saa yoyote anachukuliwa kama mwalimu na watu hujifunza kutoka kwake. Hii ni tofauti na walimu wa Uingereza ambao wakitoka shule utaalamu wao hautumiki tena. Hata shuleni ni desturi za Uingereza kumwita mwalimu kwa jina lake - Mister Nani au Miss Nani - na siyo "teacher".

Malezi yakizingatiwa kwa jumla, yanaonekana kulenga mengi katika maendeleo ya watoto, ambayo pia yanachukuliwa kama malengo ya elimu ya msingi. Elimu ya msingi inatakiwa kuandaa wananchi na viongozi wa kesho, kuwawezesha wahitimu waendelee katika elimu au waingie kazini moja kwa moja, kuwaanda vijana wawe na udadisi wa kuendelea kugundua na ujuzi wa kuwalea vizuri wadogo zao. Katika mitazamo ya walimu, malengo ya elimu yanapanuka hadi wengine wanasema elimu inabadili mtoto:

> Maana tunasema, "Learning is the change of behaviour". Kwamba kusoma ni kubadili tabia. [.] Lazima utegemee mtoto abadalike kiroho, kiakili, kimwili, kwa kila kitu. Na hata mtoto aliyesoma ukimkuta mitaani, utawakuta wanakaa kikundi kubwa unaweza kujua huyu anasoma bila kuuliza, appearance yake tu, kama anavyoonekana. Wengine utawakuta hawajafua miaka mingi. Siyo unapitapita mjini unawaona? They are very dirty. (Mwalimu, Kibaha)

Mzazi humtaka mtoto wake awe na maisha mazuri baadaye. Kwa hiyo, mtoto akiwa na akili za kutosha, mzazi humtakia asome shule ya sekondari hata chuo kikuu ili baadaye apate kuajiriwa na asaidie jamii yake:

> Lazima ufanye kazi kuwa na malengo kwamba unawaandaa watu ambawa wanatakiwa kuwa viongozi wa baadaye, wanatakiwa kuwa wananchi wazuri wa baadaye. Huu ni uhusiano wa pili, ulichokuwa kama mzazi uwe na malengo kwamba hawa naandaa watu ambawa wanatakiwa wawe na tabia nzuri, wawe na elimu nzuri, ili baadaye waje kunisaidia. Kama ninavyofanya na mtoto wangu, nataka mtoto wangu baadaye aje kuwa daktari (Mwalimu, Kibaha)

Shule za sekondari husifiwa kwa njia ya kufaulu mitihani. Kwa hiyo, mwalimu akijiona kama mzazi wa wanafunzi wake, atajituma ili wafaulu mitihani. Wakati mwingine mtazamo huu una athari kwamba malengo mengine yaliyopo katika malezi yanasahauliwa. Hata hivyo, walimu walishafahamu hatari:

> Walimu wanafundisha wanafunzi ili watafaulu mitahani ni si maarifa. Wanafunzi hawapati maarifa ya kutosha ili baadaye ya kupambana na mazingira wakimaliza shule. (Majadiliano Mlandizi).

Kwa ujumla, walimu wana mitazamo miwili inayopingana kuhusu malezi. Mtazamo mmoja unadhibiti wajibu wa walimu walenge kufaulisha wanafunzi mitihani tu. Mtazamo wa pili unapanua sana wajibu ili walenge kuwalea na kuwaelekeza watoto na kuwa mfano mbele ya jumuia. Walimu wengi wanayo mitazamo yote miwili na inawezekana wangekuwa na mtazamo mpana tu isingekuwa maisha ya wanafunzi ya baadaye yanategemea matokeo ya mitihani. Aidha, mara nyingi matokeo yanatumika kwa kutathmini ubora wa shule na ujuzi wa walimu.

2. Kitaaluma - Ufundishaji

Wajibu wa kitaaluma ni majukumu yanaopangwa na serikali kama mwajiri wa walimu, k.m. kuhesabu mahudhurio na kufanya ukarabati wa majengo. Jukumu la kwanza la mwalimu ni kufundisha vipindi alivyopangiwa. Kwa hiyo, sehemu hii inahusisha ufundishaji darasani na hasa walimu wa Tanzania wana dhana gani ya ufundishaji mzuri.

Mara nyingi wahojiwa wakiombwa kuelezea kipindi walichofundisha hivi karibuni, huzungumzia kwa kirefu maelezo yaliyotolewa na kwa kifupi shughuli zilozopangwa wanafunzi wafanye. Katika kuelezea maada walimu hutumia mbinu zaidi ya kutoa maneno. Wote wanaelewa kwamba ufundishaji mzuri hutumia zana na huwashirikisha watoto. Aidha, walimu wanajua mbinu mbalimbali za ushirikishaji, k.m. maswali na majibu, ngonjera na maigizo. Lakini, hizi ni mbinu zinazoongozwa na mwalimu kwa ajili ya kurahisisha maelezo. Hii ni tofauti na kuwashirikisha watoto kwa njia za kuwashughulisha, k.m. kusoma vitabu, kuandika hadithi na kufinyanga sanamu. Walimu wengine waliniambia kwamba wanatumia njia kama vitendo au 'project'. Aidha, niliona mara nyingi watoto wanapewa mazoezi au majaribio wafanye wenyewe. Hata hivyo, walimu hawapendelei kuzungumzia shughuli za watoto, labda sababu wanaona kwamba kuwapangia kazi siyo kitu kinachodai kuzingatiwa lakini kuwaelewesha maada npya ni ngumu na inadai ubunifu. Vile vile, mara nyingi wahojiwa waliongelea zana za kufundishia kama ramani ambayo mwalimu anaonyesha wanafunzi, kuliko zana za kujifunzia kama vijiti vya kuhesabia vinavyoshikwa na watoto wenyewe. Upande wa Uingereza, walimu hujiona kama meneja darasani anayewapangia watoto vitendo vya kujifunzia na hufanya maelezo kuwa sehemu ndogo sana ya kazi yao. Isisahauliwe kwamba wanafunzi wa shule za msingi Uingereza ni wadogo kwa umri (miaka 5 - 11) kuliko wenzao nchini Tanzania.

Inawezekana kufafanua maoni ya walimu watanzania ya ufundishaji wa maada npya kwa kuchukua mfano wa mchezo wa kudaka mpira. Mwalimu anarusha mpira ambao ni maada na wanafunzi wanajitahidi kuudaka. Wepesi wanaudaka moja kwa moja wakati wazito wanashindwa hadi mwalimu awarushie tena, labda kwa kutumia njia nyingine. Katika wao wanaoonekana kudaka mara ya kwanza wapo wengine, mwalimu akirudi kesho atawakuta walishaidondosha mipira yao, maana walishasahau na itabidi arudie tena. Ingawa, kutokana na wingi wa wanafunzi, ufupi wa vipindi na urefu wa mitaala, mara nyingi walimu wanashindwa kuhakikisha kama kila mmoja ameudaka mpira wake. Kwa hiyo, wanaendelea na maada npya wakati wanajua wengine hawajazielewa zile za nyuma.

Nilipowauliza wahojiwa, je wana malengo gani katika ufundishaji wao, mara nyingi wakajibu kwamba hufuata muhtasari hadi mwisho wa mwaka halafu huwatakia wanafunzi wafaulu mitahani:

> Tunafuata syllabus, kwa ile syllabus tulishaandaliwa. Kwamba hawa wakiingia darasa la 6 mpaka wanapofika mwisho wa mwaka walishapitia topics hizi, zikamiliki. Kwa hiyo, kwanza

> tunaandaa ile scheme of work tunafuata ile syllabus. Tunazipita zile topics zote katika mwezi amabao tunao kufundisha. Lazima ufuate ile. Halafu ukilinganisha kitabu cha wanafunzi kinaoana na syllabus (AKPJf7:6)

Kwa maneno mengine, walimu wanategemea miongozo ya muhtasari. Mfumo wa elimu ni kama ngazi, watoto wanaanza katika daraja la kwanza, ambalo ni awali au darasa la kwanza. Kila daraja lina maada zake kulingana na umri wa watoto. Kama mwanafunzi baada ya kutathminiwa, anaonekana kuzielewa yuko tayari kuendelea kwa daraja linalofuata. Akifaulu darasa la saba anaweza kuendelea kwa sekondari. Ngazi zinapungua juu kutokana na pungufu la nafasi kaitika vituo vya elimu ya juu. Kwa hiyo, kuna shindano la kufika juu na kupanda ngazi inaweza kuwa mradi wa maisha mazima, maana watu wanasema 'elimu haina mwisho'. Hata katika walimu wapo wengine ambao bado wanategemea kuendelea kupanda. Kwa mfano, mwalimu wa daraja la 3A anatazamia kusoma A levels kwa ajili ya kuingia chuo kikuu au masomo ya diploma.

Washiriki wengine wa utafiti huu walilalamika kwamba vitabu vya muhtasari mpya vilichelewa kufika shuleni kwao na hii iliathiri matokeo ya darasa la saba. Kwa hiyo, wakaishauri serikali isibadilishe mitaala mara nyingi kuliko uwezo wa kuwasilisha shuleni nchi nzima. Wengine waliona walimu kama watendaji, washirikishwe katika maandalizi ya mitaala. Bado, kwa ujumla wote walikubali na dhana kwamba serikali ina haki ya kutoa muhtasari kama miongozo ya ufundishaji nchi nzima. Kwa hiyo, mtazamo wa kwanza wa ufundishaji ni watoto wote wanatakiwa kuelezwa maada zilizoandikwa katika muhtasari, ili watakaoweza wafaulu mitihani na waendelee kupanda ngazi za elimu. Pamoja na mtazamo huu mwembamba, walimu wanao mtazamo mwingine unaopingana na unaopanuka zaidi.

Wakati mmoja walimu wanaamini kwamba watoto wote wana haki ya kupata elimu sawa, pia hujua kwamba wanafunzi wanatofautiana katika tabia zao, vipaji vyao, shauku zao na mazingira yao. Aidha, wanafahamu kwamba kuna mbinu mbalimbali za kufundishia na kujifunzia, kama inavyoelezwa juu. Inakaribia walimu wote wanadharau ufundishaji kwa nadharia tu na wengine wanasisitiza kwamba wanafunzi hutakiwa kupata maarifa kulingana na mazingira yao. Wanaona kwamba elimu ya msingi hutakiwa kuwajengea vipaji mbalimbali na kuwawezesha wahitimu wajitegemee. Kwa mfano, bendi na michezo inawavuta watoto na katika vipindi vya Elimu ya Kujitegemea na Stadi za Kazi wanafunzi hupata ujuzi wa kuanzisha mradi wao wakimaliza shule. Lakini mara nyingi katika utekelezaji wa mtazamo huu wanakutana na vipingamizi. Zana za kujifunzia, kama vitabu, mara nyingi hazitoshi; uhaba wa majengo au walimu unasababisha wingi wa watoto darasani na katika hali hizo mbinu nyingine, kama vitendo au project, hazifanyiki. Msukumo kutoka kwa wazazi ambao wanatazamia watoto wao kusoma sekondari, yanasababisha walimu kubanwa zaidi na mwongozo wa muhtasari. Kamati za shule nyingi hazijavipa vifaa vya michezo au bendi kipaumbele katika mpangilio wa fedha. Walimu wengine wanakosa maelewano ya muhtasari mpya au mbinu za ushirikishaji kutokana na ukosefu wa mafunzo kazini. Hata hivyo, walimu wa Tanzania walishazoea kuwasiliana na wenzao shuleni kwao na shule za jirani na kwa njia hii mbinu mbalimbali zinajulikana. Aidha, maslahi na matatizo binafsi yanaweza kusababisha mwalimu mwenye ujuzi afundishe chini ya uwezo wake:

> Maelezo ni lazima yawepo. Tunafundisha kwa kutumia maelezo mengi kuliko zana, ni kweli kabisa. Na kwa nini tunafanya hivi? Tunafanya hivi sababu kwanza muda wa kutengeneza zana hatuna. Ukitoka hapo, kila mtu anafikiri zake, ana matatizo yake, hata hapa wapo lakini inawezakana wengine hawapo hapa wanafikiri nyingine. Wakati ya kufinyanga kitu fulani, muda hatuna, shughuli zinakuwa nyingi, muda hatuna Kwa maeneo tunaelezea kila kitu kwa maelezo mengi kuliko kwa vitendo, project. Kwa maana hiyo watoto hawaelewi wakati tunasema mtoto analala, unaweza kwenda pale kumsukuma. Hutaki wewe wala yeye isingepokuwa zana za kufundishia kuwa zaidi. Ufundishaji unatakiwa kuwa kwa zana kuliko nadharia. (Majadiliano Mlandizi, 30-04-2003)

Kwa ujumla, shindano la kuingia shule za sekondari linadhibiti mtazamo wa malezi, mazingira ya kazi, mfumo wa walimu na mitazamo ya wazazi inadhibiti mtazamo wa ufundishaji. Kulinganisha na Uingereza haiwezekani. Uingereza shule zina vifaa kama vitabu, mashine za kudurufu 'photocopi', rangi za kuchora, vifaa vya michezo, televisheni, kompyuta n.k. Katika darasa moja wanafunzi hawazidi 30 au mwisho kabisa 35. Kitu kingine cha muhimu zaidi ni katika mfumo wa elimu Uingereza kila mtoto anahakikishiwa nafasi yake katika shule ya sekondari. Zaidi ya hivyo, analazimishwa kusoma hata akichukia. Kwa kifupi, Uingereza elimu ni sheria, Tanzania elimu ni shindano. Hata hivyo, ni kweli katika utafiti wangu niliwakuta walimu wengine wanao ujuzi na mbinu nzuri za kufundishia, nyingine za ushirikishaji. Aidha, niliona kwamba wanafunzi wa Tanzania wana usikivu kupita wenzao wa umri mmoja Uingereza.

3. Wito au Kazi? Mwalimu ni mwajiriwa

> Katika experience yangu ya ualimu, sasa, nimejifunza kwamba kuna walimu wa aina mbili. Kuna walimu ambao wenye wito wa ualimu na walimu wengine wanakuja kama kazini tu. Yaani, ile huruma ya watoto amekuwa hana. (Mwalimu, Shinyanga Manispaa)

> Imefika hali wizara inawachukulia walimu kama watu wanaojitolea. Maana inafika wanasema ualimu ni wito, wito sasa, wito ni kuumia tu sasa, ni kuumia tu. (Mwalimu, Shinyanga Vijijini)

Walimu wengine wanasema kwamba ualimu ni wito wakati mmoja wapo wenzao wanaosema ni kazi. Lakini mitazamo yote miwili inatokana na mishahara kuwa midogo na hali ya shule kuwa ngumu. Makala haya yangeandikwa na mwalimu mtanzania, badala ya mgeni wa nje, ninadhani sehemu hii, inayohusika hali ya kazi za ualimu, ingekuwa ndefu zaidi. Maana katika mambo haya walimu wana hasira na wanataka sauti yao isikike.

Upande wa wito, sababu za kusema ualimu ni wito zilikuwa mbili. Ya kwanza ilikuwa kwamba bila msukumo wa roho mwalimu hawezi kufanya kazi zake. Maana mishahara haitoshi kuwamotisha na hali ya kazini inaweza kumkatisha tamaa. Sababu ya pili ilitolewa hasa na walimu vijijini. Wakaona maisha yao yote yanategemea na kituo cha kazi. Maana, wamekubali kufanya kazi

sehemu ambayo siyo nyumbani kwao na kwenye maisha magumu. Labda maji yanapatikana kwa shida, shule ya awali kwa ajili ya watoto wao na huduma ya afya haipatakani kwa karibu; safari ya kwenda wilayani kuchukua mishahara ni ndefu na ya gharama n.k. Hata hivyo, wanajisikia kubanwa na kazi yao ya kuleta mwanga wa elimu kwa vijana wa kijiji. Wengine walijilinganisha na mapadri ambao wanakubali kuishi kijijini na kuwa wamaskini kwa ajili ya kuvutika.

Kwa mtu kusema, "Nilichagua ualimu sababu ya kuwapenda watoto" au "nilitaka kuwasaidia watoto kama walimu wangu walivyonisaidia" ni rahisi na bila shaka wachache walisema hivyo kwa ajili ya kujisifia kuwa walimu wazuri. Hata hivyo, walimu wako Tanzania ambao walichagua ualimu kutokana na msukumo rohoni:

> Walimu walinifundisha Kwanza nilikuwa sijui kitu. Kwa hiyo niliamua moja kwa moja baadha ya hapo mimi niwe mwalimu ili kuweza kuwaelimisha wenzangu. Sababu niliamua kuwa mwalimu cha kwanza kabisa kwamba mtu unamtoa gizani unampelcka kwenye mwanga. Sasa na mimi nikaona kwamba nitapokuwa mwalimu nitaweza kuwasaidia wenzangu ili waweze, kutoka kwenye giza wajue kusoma na kuandika. (Mwalimu, Shinyanga Vijijini)

Mara nyingi ilielezwa kwamba ualimu ni kazi sababu wengi hawakuchagua ualimu lakini ilikuwa ajira pekee iliyopatikana. Hata hivyo, kasoro wawili, walimu wote waliohojiwa walisema kwamba walichagua ualimu. Kwa hiyo inaonekana kwamba hata kama mtu mwanzoni hakupenda ualimu, akiendelea na kazi yake baadaye anaweza kukubaliana nayo. Wengine walisisitiza kwa sauti ya nguvu kwamba ualimu ni kazi ili wapate haki wanazostahili wafanyakazi. Waliona kwamba neno la wito hutumika kuwakandamiza. Mara nyingine, walimu waliodai haki zao kwa sauti kubwa walikuwa wale ambao pia walionekana kuwa na wito wa ukweli.

Uingereza, hasa kabla mabadiliko katika mfumo wa elimu yaliotekelezwa kuanzia mwaka 1987, walimu wengi walichukua kazi yao kama wito au 'vocation'. Lakini maelewano yao ya 'vocation' hayakuzingatia dini. Walimu walikuwa wanakubali kufanya kazi yao kwa kufuatilia maadili, kwa kutumia nguvu yao nyingi na mara nyingi walichapa kazi masaa mengi kuliko ilivyostahili bila kulazimishwa. Lakini walikubali kufanya hiyo wakati waliridhika mahitaji yao na walikuwa na uhakika wa ajira hadi watakapostaafu. Walijua kwamba kila mwezi mishahara italipwa bila kuchelewa na itawatosha kwa kiasi ingawa hawatakuwa matajiri. Walijua watoto wao wanaweza kusoma sekondari kwa bure (kama kawaida Uingereza) na huduma ya afya inapatikana bure. Maana, usalaamu wa binafsi uliwawezesha kukazana na kazi na kufuata maadili. Juu ya hiyo, wakifika kazini walikuta vifaa vya kutosha, k.m. kila mtoto anakaa kwenye dawati lake na kabatini vitabu vipo vya aina vingi. Kwa hiyo, pamoja na kuithamini kazi na kuwapenda watoto, utendaji mzuri unategemea mwalimu akiridhika na mahitaji yake ya msingi na vifaa viwepo shuleni vya kutosha. Walimu wa wito Tanzania wanapodai haki zao kama wafanyakazi wanachoomba ni kuwezeshwa kutenda vizuri kazi wapendayo.

Hitimisho

Kwanza naomba washiriki katika utafiti huu wanisamehe kwa dosari. Ndiyo wengi walijitahidi kunifahamisha mazingira yao ya kazi. Ninapowasilisha matokeo kwa kiingereza nachukua nafasi zaidi kuelezea mazingira ya shule, watu wa nje waelewe vizuri hali za Tanzania. Lakini sababu makala haya mafupi yatasomwa na walimu watanzania hayahusiki sana mazingira ya kazi na maslahi ya walimu. Mambo haya wanayajua kuliko mtafiti.

Kwa ujumla, walimu wana mtazamo unaopanuka zaidi kuhusu wajibu wao wa kuwalea wanafunzi na mtazamo huu unakubaliana na mila na desturi ya Tanzania. Wanaona kwamba mwalimu siyo daraja katika shule tu lakini ni daraja katika jamii na kama wao wana wajibu wa kuwa kioo mbele ya jamii, inatakiwa kazi yao ithaminiwe na jamii na viongozi. Aidha, walimu wana mtazamo mpana kuhusu wajibu wao wa kuwaelimisha watoto na mtazamo huu unakubali na malengo ya elimu ya msingi kama yanavyoelezwa katika sera za elimu za Tanzania. Watanzania na waingereza wanafanana katika kuwa na mitazamo inayopanuka kuhusu malezi na elimu ingawa kuna sehemu wanatofautiana kutokana na mila na desturi za nchi zao na mfumo wa elimu. Tofauti moja kubwa zaidi ni walimu watanzania wanakutana na vipingamizi vikubwa hadi vinadhibiti mitazamo yao. Kwa mfano, mtazamo wa kumchukua mwanafunzi kama mtoto wake unaweza kuwa na maana ya kumweleza maarifa yanaohitajika katika maisha yake ya baadaye lakini wakati mwingine, kutokana na shindano la kuingia sekondari, mtazamo huu unasababisha mwalimu alenge zaidi mafanikio katika mitihani. Vile vile hali za shule na ukosefu wa mafunzo inadhibiti ufundishaji darasani. Lakini mitazamo yenye upana ina historia ndefu Tanzania na walimu wataendelea kuizingatia wakishirikishwa na serikali na wafadhili katika uboreshaji wa elimu.

Shukrani

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Contact: Angeline.Barrett@bris.ac.uk
Graduate School of Education, 8-10, Berkeley Square, BRISTOL, BS8 1JA, UK.

Transcript of appendix 2.4

Tanzanian Primary School Teachers' Perceptions of their Responsibilities and Status

Angeline Barrett
(University of Bristol, England)

Introduction

This article presents a part of research carried out towards a PhD on Tanzanian primary school teachers' perceptions. Overall, the research has two objectives. The first is to explore Tanzanian primary school teachers' perceptions of teaching and how their perceptions depend on their environment. The second is to compare these with the perceptions of English teachers and their concepts of 'professionalism', as they are explained in academic literature so that African and European educationalists can understand each other better.

Data was collected in the two Regions of Shinyanga (districts of Shinyanga Rural and Shinyanga Municipality) and Coast (districts of Kibaha, Kibaha Town Council and Mkuranga) between October 2002 and May 2003. This article discusses the findings from interviews with 34 primary school teachers and three discussion meetings from each region, each with between five and sixteen participants. Participants in the discussion meetings were headteachers, teachers, together with a few DEOs and inspectors.

The discussion meetings and interviews addressed the following questions:

1. How do primary school teachers describe their responsibilities, status and relationships with other people, such as pupils, parents, local communities, government and society in general?
2. What understanding do primary school teachers have with respect to teaching and learning of children together with the purposes and benefits of primary education?
3. How do teachers' perceptions of education and teaching depend on their school context, systemic context and the culture and traditions of Tanzania?

Teachers' perceptions can be divided into three areas. The first two are the professional/academic responsibilities and responsibility of care at work and within the local community. The third area concerns the status or teachers within society and their status as government employees. This last section will be illustrated through consideration of the question, 'Is teaching a calling or a job?'

1. Care/guidance – a teacher is a second parent

> The students, first, they see the teacher as their helper, their saviour, the person who explains the good things which they need in life. They take him as their father, an expert on things that are brought to school and then their guardian. Therefore, they believe because necessarily they will follow whatever I tell them. "This one is our saviour, our life." Whatever the teacher tells them they rely on very much. (Teacher, Shinyanga Rural)

Teachers see themselves as second parents or guardians:

> The care/guidance of teachers is like a family and a pupil is a member of a teacher's family, outside and within the school compound. (Mlandizi discussion meeting, 03/04/2004)

Both English and Tanzanian teachers regard care as a part of their work. However, their understandings of care differ. Tanzanian teachers say that school is like a family and pupils are like their children. European teachers regard the school as a garden and children are like plants which the teacher tends. Therefore, teachers have a responsibility to attend to children and to ensure that the school environment meets their needs. They emphasis that teachers should be close to children and their teaching should be appropriate to the character and talents of each individual pupil. On this point, Tanzanian teachers agree with their English peers although they tend to place more emphasis on the teacher being required to direct children and correct them where they err. To explain is also within the English understanding of care although it is not given as much emphasis as in Tanzania.

To be a good parent means to guide the child towards sociable behaviour and to explain the general knowledge, which will enable them to live in modern Tanzania. Guidance in sociable behaviour means that the teacher her/himself is an example of an agreeable personality and good conduct, also to correct children when they demonstrate bad behaviour:

> A good teacher should have good behaviour. [...] To guide the children. Perhaps some children are fighting and you ignore them. Here, you have not helped at all, you are required to help. Even if s/he is ill, you don't have to wait and send for the parent. You attend to him/her yourself. Treat him/her and then send a message home. (Teacher, Kibaha)

Teachers explain general knowledge suitable to the environment in three ways. First, teachers explain with words the importance of hygiene. Also, within the classroom teaching, they explain some basic knowledge, for example, how to help a pregnant woman and the importance of planting trees. The second strategy is through deeds. Teachers, like parents, can send pupils on errands, like harvesting in the school farm or preparing tea for guests. The teacher directs their activities and where they make a mistakes, corrects them.

The third way is through the teacher being a role model. For example, the teacher should not be an alcoholic. Another example is that the teacher him/herself should possess basic health knowledge and make sure that a sick person receives treatment in good time. Finally, the benefits of education should show in the his/her life and home. This is why people say that a teacher is a mirror, if a pupil gazes at him/her s/he will see how her/his own future life will be if s/he continues to study. Not only a pupil, also the local community expect to see the benefits of education if they look at a teacher. Some informants remembered when they were primary school pupils, they gazed at their teachers and were motivated to study so that later they would be like their own teachers. Therefore, a teacher cannot leave behind her/his position when s/he leaves the school. Wherever s/he is, at whatever time, s/he is taken as a teacher and people learn from her/him. This is different from English teachers, who when they leave school, are not treated according to their profession. Even in school, it is the custom in England to call a teacher by his/her name – Mr. or Miss. So-and-so – and not "teacher".

If care is looked at overall, it has many objectives for the development of children, which are also taken as objectives for primary education. Primary education prepares the

citizens and leaders of tomorrow; it enables graduates to continue with education or to straight away start work; it equips youth with the inquisitiveness to continue to discover new things and the know-withal to take good care of their younger siblings. Teachers perceive the objectives of education to be extremely broad, to the point that some say that education changes a child:

> That is why we say that, "Learning is the change of behaviour", because to study is to change. [...] Necessarily you expect a child to change spiritually, mentally, physically, in every way. If you come across a large group of children in the street, you can tell which ones have been to school without even asking. Just from his/her appearance, you can tell. You find some, they have not washed their clothes in many years. You walk around the city, don't you see them? They are very dirty. (Teacher, Kibaha)

A parent wants his or her children to have a good life. Therefore, if the child is able, the parent wishes him or her to go to secondary school, even university, so that later s/he will be employed and help his/her people:

> Necessarily, you should work with the objective that you are preparing people, who should be leaders in future, they should be good citizens in future. This is the second relationship, you should, like a parent, aim to prepare people, who have good characteristics, who have a good education so that later they will help you. As I have done for my child, I want my child to be a doctor. (Teacher, Kibaha).

Secondary school is accessed through passing examinations. Therefore, if a teacher regards her/himself as a parent of her/his pupils, s/he will work hard so that they will pass the examinations. Sometimes, this aim has a negative impact in that other objectives associated with care are forgotten. However, teachers recognize this danger:

> To teach pupils so that they will pass the examination is not knowledge. Pupils do not get enough knowledge appropriate to the environment when they leave school. (Discussion group, Mlandizi)

To summarise, teachers have two perceptions of care. One perception restricts teachers' responsibilities to making pupils pass examinations. The second perception is very broad, that is to care and direct pupils and to be an example for the community. Many teachers hold both perceptions and it is possible that they would only have the broader perception, were it not that pupils' future life is effected so dramatically by their examination results. Also, results are often used to assess the quality of a school and the ability of teachers.

2. Professional/academic – teaching

Academic responsibilities and duties are defined by the government as teachers' employer, e.g. to register attendance and to refurbish buildings. The first duty of a teacher is to teach the periods they are assigned. Therefore, this section considers classroom teaching and, in particular, teachers' concepts of good teaching.

When informants were asked to describe a lesson they had taught recently, they often gave a long account of the explanation they delivered and only a very brief description of the activities, which they arranged for the pupils to do. To explain the subject matter, teachers used more strategies than just talk. Everyone thought that good teaching included use of visual aids and involving children. Also, teachers knew several participative strategies, e.g. question and answer, recitation and drama sketches. But, these strategies are led by the teacher in order to make the explanation more accessible to pupils. This is different from involving children through giving them activities, e.g. to read books, to write a story or to make a sculpture. Some teachers told me that they

use practical or 'project'. Also, I saw children were often given exercises or tests to do on their own. All the same, teachers tended not to talk about the children's activities, may be because they did not regard setting work as something that required much consideration but regarded explaining new material as difficult and requiring creativity. In the same way, many informants talked about teaching aids, such as a map, which the teacher shows to the pupils, more than learning aids, such as counting sticks, which children handle themselves. In England, teachers view themselves as classroom managers, who plan the learning activities of the pupils and for whom explanation is one small part of their work. It should be remembered, however, that primary school pupils in England are younger (5 – 11 years) than those in Tanzania.

Tanzanian teachers' view of teaching new subject matter may be illustrated by the analogy of a game of catch with a ball. The teacher throws the ball, which is the subject matter and the pupils try their best to catch it. The quick ones catch it straight away whilst the slow ones may not catch it until the teachers throws it to them again, may be using a different technique. Amongst those, who appear to catch it at first, there are some, who have dropped the ball by the time the teacher returns the next day. Meaning they have forgotten the material and it is necessary to return to it again. Although, because of the large number of pupils, the short period and the length of the curriculum, often teachers fail to make sure that every single pupil has caught the ball. Therefore, they continue with new material even though they know that some have not yet understood material that was covered earlier.

When I asked informants what were their aims when they taught, often they replied it was to follow the syllabus until the end of the year, when they wished the pupils to pass the examination:

> We follow the syllabus which has been prepared for us. So that from entering S6 up until the end of the year, they pass through these topics, they are completed. Therefore, first we prepare a scheme of work which follows the syllabus. We pass through all the topics, which we are scheduled to teach in a month. You have to do this. Then, also the pupils' textbooks follow the syllabus. (Teacher, Kibaha)

In other words, teachers depend on the guidance of the syllabus. The education system is like a ladder. Children begin at the first rung, which may be pre-school or S1. Each rung has its own material which suits the age of the children. If, after assessment, a pupil demonstrates understanding s/he is ready to continue to the next rung. If s/he passes the exam at the end of S7, s/he can continue to secondary. The ladder tapers towards the top as a result of the shortage of places in education institutions. Therefore, there is a competition for space at the top and climbing the ladder may be a project of a lifetime, hence the saying, "education never ends". Even amongst teachers, some still expect to continue with their ascent. For example, a grade A teacher may hope to study A levels in order to enter the university or study for a diploma.

Many participants in this research complained that the new syllabus arrived late at their school and this effected the S7 results. Therefore, they wished to advise the government that it should not change the curriculum more often than it is able to communicate it to schools throughout the country. Others thought that teachers, as the implementers of the curriculum, should be more involved in its preparation. Still, everyone agreed with the principle that the government has the right to publish a syllabus as guidelines for teaching throughout the country. This is so that every child in the country is explained the material laid out in the syllabus so that those, who are able,

pass the examinations and continue to climb the educational ladder. Teachers also have another broader perception which is in tension with this restricted view of education.

At the same time teachers believe that all children have a right to get the same education, they also know that pupils differ in their personality, talents, interests and environment. Also, they understand that there are various teaching and learning methods, as is explained above. Nearly all teachers scorned teaching by theory alone and some emphasised that pupils need knowledge that is appropriate to their environment. They see that primary education is required to develop various talents and to enable graduates to be self-reliant. For example, a musical band and sports attract children and through the subjects of ESR and Vocational Skills, pupils gain the skills needed to start their own money-raising project when they leave school. But often, the implementation of these ideals meets barriers. There are not enough learning materials, such as textbooks; a shortage of buildings or teachers causes large class-sizes and in these situations, teaching methods such as practical or 'projects', are impossible. The pressure from parents, who wish their children to study secondary, also ties teachers to the syllabus guidelines. Many school committees do not prioritise the purchase of sports or band equipment within the school budget. Some teachers do not understand the new syllabus or participative strategies resulting from lack of in-service training. All the same, Tanzanian teachers are in the habit of communicating with colleagues at their own and neighbouring schools and in this way various teaching methods become common knowledge. Also, the standard of living and personal problems may cause even a skilled teacher not to teach well:

> Explanations have to be there. We teach by using explanation more than visual aids, this is undeniably true. And why do we do this? We do this first because we do not have time to make teaching aids. Putting that aside, each person has their own anxieties and problems. Even though they are present in the classroom it is possible that their thoughts are elsewhere. The time to make resources, we don't have time. There are many activities and we do not have time. We explain everything by just talking more often that practicals, project. This means that children do not understand what we say. The child falls asleep and you go to nudge him/her. You don't want them to sleep, its just that there are not enough teaching aids. Teaching should make more use of visual aids than theory. (Mlandizi discussion, 10/04/2004)

To summarise, the competition to enter secondary school restricts teachers' perceptions of care, the work environment and the education system and parents' perceptions also restricts teachers' practice. It is not possible to draw a comparison with England. In England, schools have resources, such as textbooks, photocopy machines, crayons, sports equipment, television, computer etc. The number of pupils in a class does not exceed 30 or, at the very most, 35. An even more important point is that within the English education system, every child is guaranteed a secondary school place. Further, every child is required to study secondary, whether s/he wishes to or not. In short, in England education is the law, in Tanzania it is a competition. Despite this, within my research I met some skilled teachers, who used sound teaching techniques, some of which were participatory. I also found that Tanzanian pupils are more attentive than children of the same age in England.

3. A calling or a job? Teaching as employment

> Through my experience in teaching, I have learned that there are two types of teachers. There are those, who have a calling, and others for whom teaching is just a job, that is they have no feeling for children. (Teacher, Shinyanga Municipality)

> It is has reached the stage that the ministry treats us as volunteers, meaning they say that teaching is a calling. A calling now is just something which hurts, it just hurts. (Teacher, Shinyanga Rural)

Some teachers say that teaching is a calling at the same time that others say it is a job. But both perceptions are related to low wages and the difficult conditions in schools. If this document had been written by a Tanzanian teacher, rather than a foreign visitor, I think that this section, which concerns the employment conditions of teaching, would be much longer. That is to say that many teachers are angry and want their voice to be heard on this issue.

There are two reasons why teaching is called a calling. The first is that without moral motivation teachers could not do their work. This is because their salaries are insufficient to motivate and working conditions are de-motivating. The second reason is especially relevant to teachers in village schools. They see that their whole life has been effected by their posting. They have agreed to work somewhere which is not their home and where life is difficult. May be water is difficult to access; there is no nursery school for their children; no health facilities nearby; the journey to collect their salary is long and expensive, etc. All the same, they feel tied/committed to their work of bringing the light of education to village youth. Some compared themselves to priests, who agree to live in the village and to be poor in order to be attractive.

It is easy to say, "I chose teaching because I love children", or "I wanted to help children as my teachers helped me". No doubt, a few said this in order to give the impression of being good teachers. However, there are teachers in Tanzania who chose teaching for altruistic reasons:

> My teachers taught me. At first I didn't know anything. Therefore, I decided straight away after that that I would be a teacher so that I could educate my fellows. Because as a teacher you take a person from darkness and bring them into the light. Now I saw that I would be teacher so that I could help my fellows so that they would be able, from the darkness they would know how to read and write. (Teacher, Shinyanga Rural)

Many times, it was explained that teaching is work because many do not choose teaching but find it is the only employment available. Yet, with two exceptions, all the teachers interviewed said that they had chosen teaching. Therefore it seems that even if a person did not wish to enter teaching, as s/he continued with her/his work s/he became reconciled to it. Some insisted that teaching is a job so that they should receive the rights to which workers are entitled. They said that the word 'calling' was used to oppress them. Some of the teachers, who demanded their rights in no uncertain terms, also appeared to have a deep sense of commitment to teaching.

In England, especially before changes to the education system which, were implemented from 1987 onwards, many teachers regarded their work as a calling or 'vocation'. But their understanding of 'vocation' was not related to religion. Teachers agreed to follow an ethical code, to invest much energy and some times they worked much longer hours than was officially required without being forced. But they agreed to do this at a time when their needs were met and they had job security up until retirement. They knew that each month, their salary would be paid without delay and it would be enough for them, although they were not rich. They knew that their children would attend secondary school for free (as is normal in England) and that health service was available for free. In other words, their level of personal security was such that they

were able to apply themselves to their work and to follow an ethical code. Further, when they arrived at work they found sufficient resources, for example, each child sat at his/her own desk and there were many different books in the cupboard. Therefore, together with valuing their work and loving children, professionalism depends on teachers being ensured their basic needs and schools having sufficient equipment. When teachers by calling demand their rights in Tanzania as if they are workers, they are asking that they be enabled to carry out the work which they love.

Conclusion

First, I ask that participants in this research forgive me any points I may have missed out. Many tried their best to make me understand their working context. When I present findings in English, I take time to explain more about the school context so that people understand the situation in Tanzania. Because this document is short and will be read by Tanzanian teachers, it is not so concerned with the working context and standard of living of teachers. These are things that you know better than the researcher.

To summarise, teachers have very broad perceptions of their responsibilities to care for pupils and this perception fits in with the traditions and customs of Tanzania. They view 'teacher' not just as a position in a school but as a position within society. So, they have a responsibility to be a mirror before society and their work should be valued by society and its leaders. Also, teachers have broad perceptions of their responsibilities to educate children and this perception fits in with the objectives of primary education, as they are outlined in policy. Tanzanian and English teachers resemble in having a broad perception of care and education, although there are areas where they differ resulting from the customs and traditions of each country and the organisation of education. One big difference is that Tanzanian teachers meet obstacles so large that they restrict their perceptions. For example, the perception that a pupil should be regarded as a teacher's child may mean that the teacher explains to him/her the knowledge s/he will need later in life but at other times, as a consequence of competition to enter secondary school, this perception causes a teacher to aim only for examination success. In the same way, the state of schools and a lack of training restricts classroom teaching. But broad perceptions have a long history in Tanzanian and teachers will continue to hold them if they are supported by government and agencies concerned with educational improvement.

Thanks

I would like to thank all the participants in this research for taking the time to share their thoughts. I thank Dr. Hillary Dachi for advising me in the field, Oxfam Tanzania for their support in Shinyanga and Prof. Michael Crossley and Prof. Marilyn Osborn for advising me during preparation. For facilitating fieldwork, I thank Godfrey Wawa for his assistance in Shinyanga and DEOs in Kibaha District, Kibaha Town Council, the Municipality of Shinyanga and Shinyanga Rural District. I also thank the DEOs in Mkuranga District, who helped greatly and took time to take me to village schools in their district. Finally, I thank the ESRC for sponsoring my Ph.D. studies.

Contact: Angeline.Barrett@bris.ac.uk
Graduate School of Education, 8-10, Berkeley Square, Bristol, BS8 1JA, UK.

Appendix 3: Administration and History of Primary Education

The following set of appendices provide information on the administration and history of primary education, to which the reader may find it useful to refer whilst reading the thesis.

Appendix 3.1: Primary school teacher qualifications in Tanzania and England

England

All English primary teachers have a first degree. They may have entered primary teaching either through taking a first Higher Education degree with Qualified Teaching Status (QTS) or studying for a Postgraduate Certificate of Education (PGCE), which takes one year of fulltime study. In addition they must have GCSE pass grade or an equivalent qualification in English, Mathematics and Science. In a bid to raise recruitment, more flexible routes into teaching have recently been created. This means training is available part-time during evenings and weekends. Alternatively, those with a higher education qualification already and relevant experience, which usually means having already worked in schools, may teach while they train on a paid salary.

Figure Ax. 3.1a: Entry requirements for teacher training courses in Tanzania

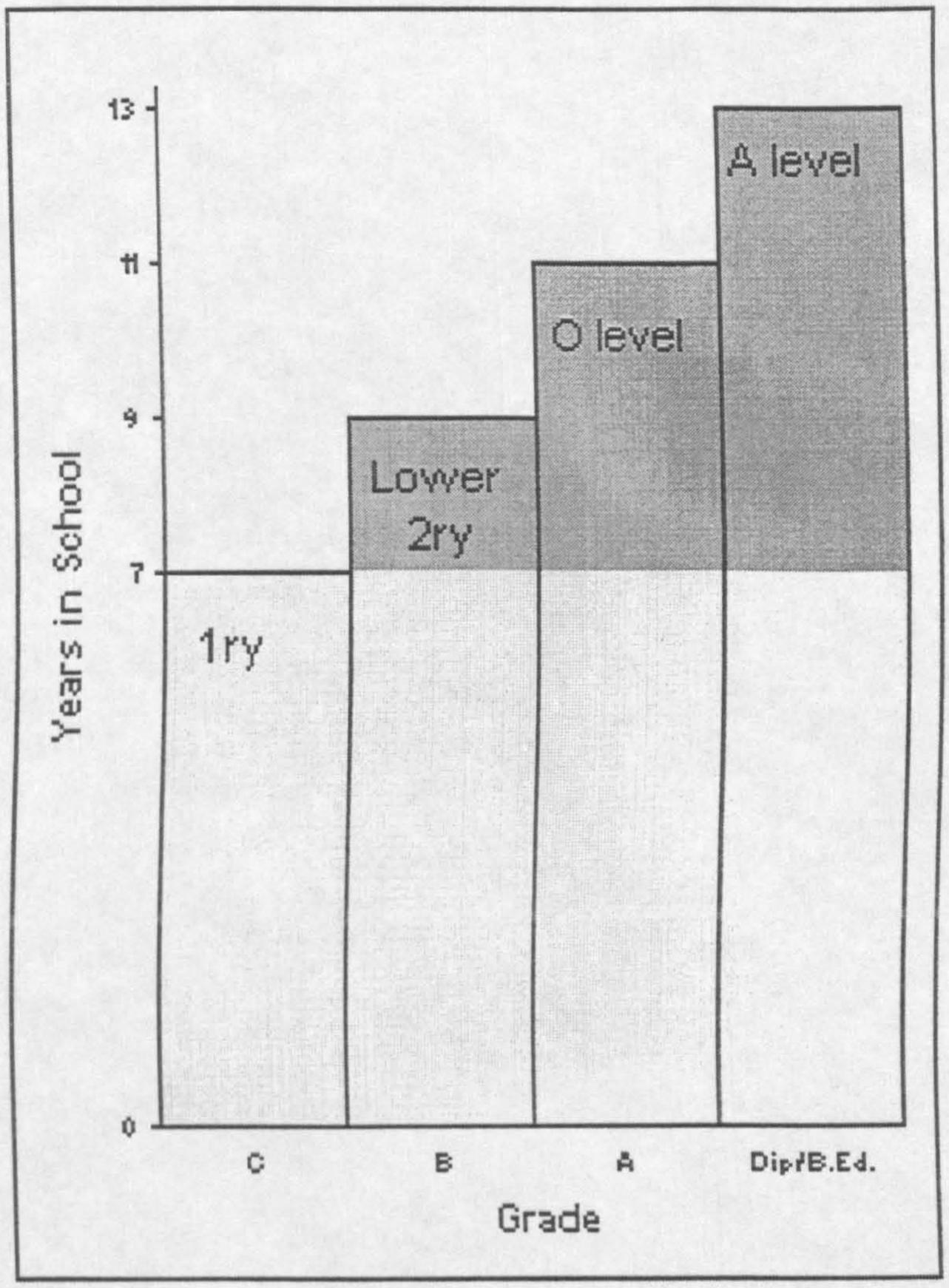


Table Ax. 3.1: Tanzanian primary teachers' qualifications in 2001
Calculated from Basic Statistics in Education (MoEC, 2002:13)

Qualification	% of workforce
B/C	50
A	49
Diploma	1

In Tanzania, primary teachers have a range of qualifications, partly depending on

when they entered teaching. The current requirement is a grade A teaching certificate. During rapid expansion of the primary sector in the 1970s, entry requirements were relaxed and B and C grade categories were created.

Grade C

Grade C teachers entered TC having completed primary education, some through crash programmes, which involved teaching in schools supported by experienced teachers acting as mentors during term time and attending TC during the vacation. All grade C teachers have been re-categorized as grade B.

Grade B

Grade B teachers took a two-year certificate course following two years of lower secondary education or equivalent (offered by a few TCs as part of a four teaching course).

Grade A

The entry requirement for the grade A course is division III in O levels, taken after four years in secondary school. The A grade certificate course has an academic component, aimed at content knowledge of primary curriculum subjects, and a professional component that includes foundation knowledge in principles of education, child psychology and pedagogy. It also includes six to eight weeks Block Teaching Practice (BTP) in a school. BTP was temporarily suspended during the mid-nineties due to shortage of funds. All teachers interviewed said that their training had been useful. However, whilst several particularly mentioned the professional modules, no one commented on the academic content. Those teachers that did BTP, said that it had prepared them well to take up the full responsibilities of a teacher upon starting their first post. Those that missed out on BTP, thought that the

single lesson practice they had done was adequate.

Alternative routes into Grade A

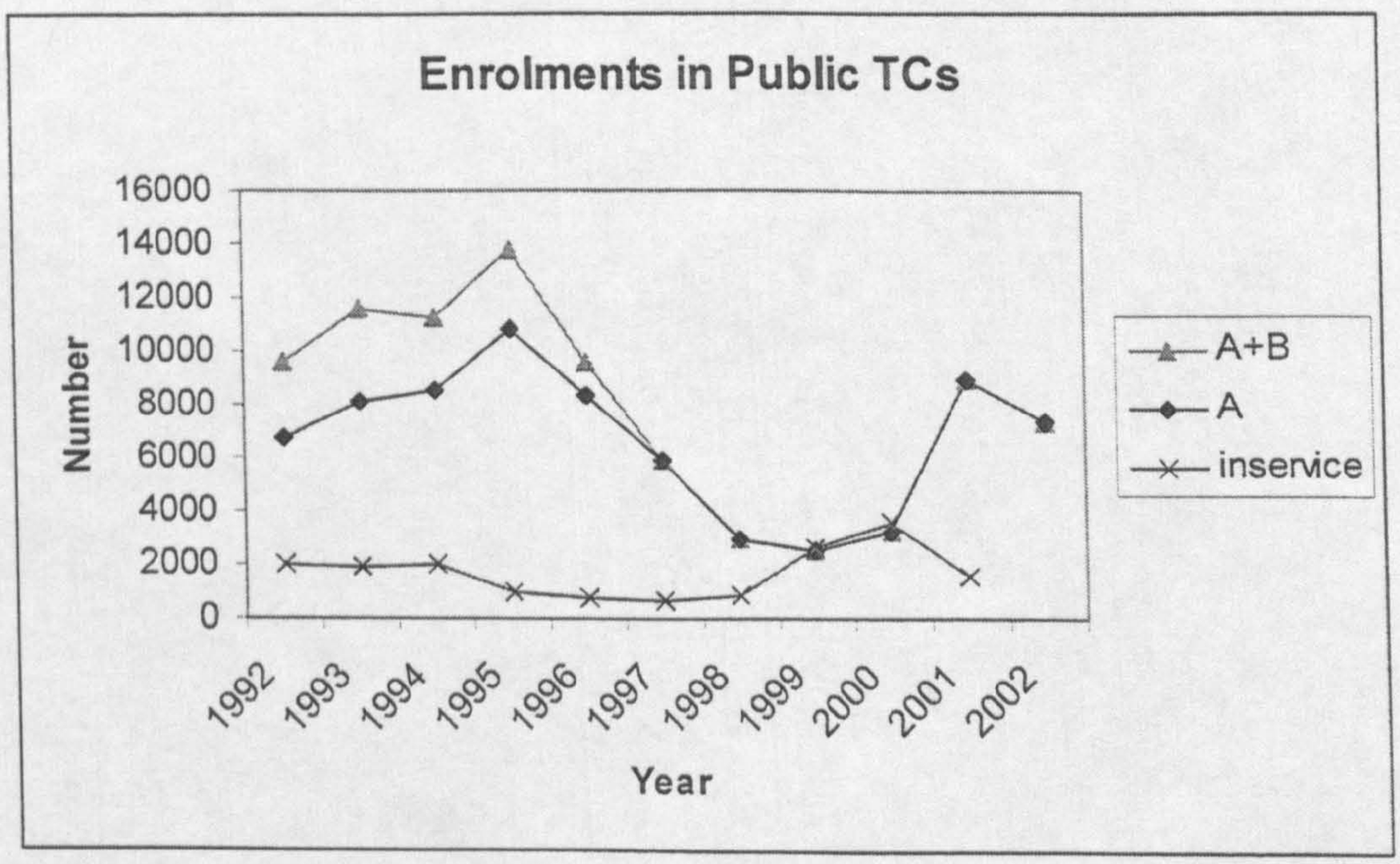
In response to the recruitment demands created by the current programme of universalisation (PEDP) and a recruitment freeze between 1996-1999 (see figure Ax3.1b), the A grade certificate course has been condensed down into a one year "crash course" taken in residential TCs. The following year, trainees are sent to work full-time in schools in the same region as their TC, where the headteacher is supposed to mentor them and contact should be maintained with their TC. The first year group to take this programme arrived in schools midway through my second field trip and hence, none were included in this study.

In addition, PEDP aims to increase the number of teachers upgrading from B to A (BEDC, 2001). This requires achieving a division III in O levels, usually studied in evenings whilst working part-time, often the candidate pays for private tuition, in order to qualify for entry to a full-time residential professional upgrade course. At times, distance learning materials have been made available to assist teachers taking O levels but most teachers, who had attempted to sit O levels without the assistance of a secondary school teacher, had been disappointed with their results. The disadvantage of this arrangement is that fulltime teachers divert their energy into studying for academic qualifications in a language (English), which many will not need to use when they return to classroom teaching. In Shinyanga, which had a high concentration of grade B teachers, plans were underway to implement a more flexible upgrade route.

Diploma & B.Ed.

About 1% (MoEC, 2002:13) of primary school teachers have a diploma and all of these upgraded from grade A. The diploma and B.Ed., as pre-service training, are intended to prepare teachers for public secondary schools, teaching up to O and A level respectively. This creates a 'ranking system' for teachers in the public sector, illustrated in figure Ax. 3.1a, which is reflected in their pay and has given rise to a popular belief that grade B/C teachers are less able to teach than their more highly qualified colleagues. This belief was not borne out by any observations carried out during the course of this study.

Figure Ax. 3.1b: Enrolments in public teachers' colleges (MoEC, 1997, 2002)
(Enrolments in private Teachers' Colleges have never been above 500).



Appendix 3.2: Teacher deployment and management in Tanzania

Table Ax. 3.2a: Comparison of teacher deployment statistics for Tanzania and England

	TANZANIA	ENGLAND
Pupil:Teacher Ratio in 2003[0]	57:1	
Pupil:Teacher Ratio in 2001/2[1]	46:1	-
Pupil:Teacher Ratio in 2000/1[1]	41:1	18:1
% female teachers in 2000/1[1]	45%	82%
Starting salary (per month)	~£40[2]	£1500[3]

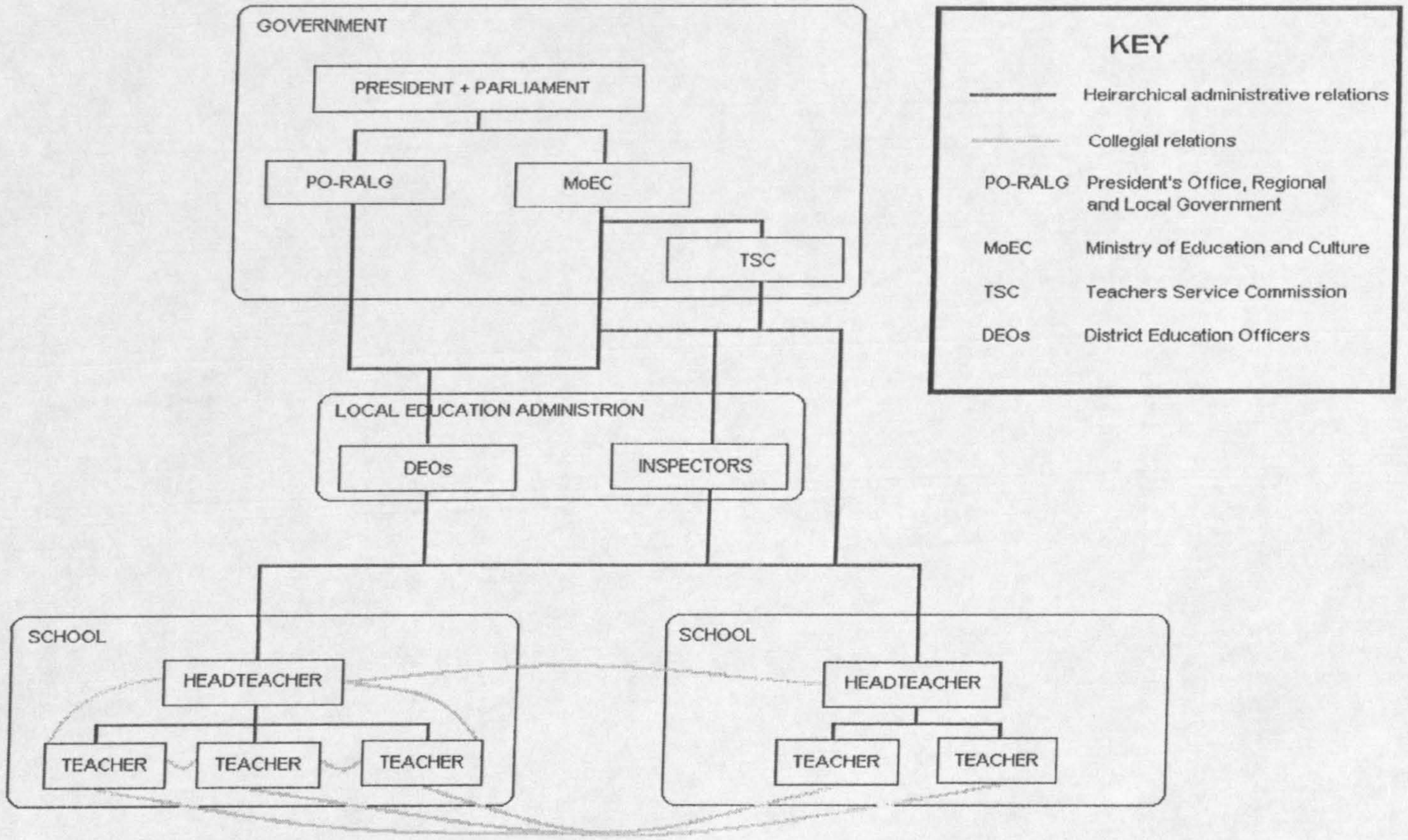
[0] URT Hali ya Uchumi wa Taifi katika Mwaka 2003 (State of the National Economy in 2003) (www.tanzania.go.tz/economicsurveyf.html, 18/10/2004)
[1] UNESCO Institute for Statistics (www.uis.unesco.org/, 03/08/2004)
[2] information from research informants interviewed November 2002.
[3] Main pay scale salary point 1, England & Wales excluding London and fringe (National Union of Teachers, www.nut.org.uk/, 03/08/2004)

Table Ax.3.2b: Levels of national and local government, offices concerned with education

LEVEL	EDUCATION ADMINISTRATION	ROLE
Nation = 21 Regions*	MoEC – Ministry of Education and Culture	Policy-making, national coordination, teacher training & curriculum Administers secondary schools
	PO-RALG – President's Office, Department of Regional and Local Government	Oversees and distributes funds to local government
Region = approx. 5 Districts	REO – Regional Education Officer	1 or 2 people, who oversee DEOs
District = approx. 12 wards	DEO – District Education Officers	Six or more people, who deal directly with around 100 primary schools
Division	This level not concerned with education	
Ward = 4-10 schools	WEC – Ward Education Coordinator	One person coordinates local events, e.g. teachers' seminars

* in Mainland Tanzania, another 5 on the islands of Zanzibar & Pemba come under the Zanzibar Ministry of Education

Fig. Ax.3.2: Simplified scheme of Tanzanian educational administration relative to primary teachers



Employment and recruitment at district level

Table Ax. 3.2b and figure Ax.3.2 together show the administrative structure of primary education in Tanzania as it relates to teachers. Like their counterparts in England, Tanzanian primary school teachers are employed by local government, in this case the district councils. This places primary school teachers within two chains of authority, one headed by MoEC and the other by the President's Office, Regional and Local Government. A single salary scale for all teachers in the public sector, including primary and secondary levels, is determined centrally, along which there is a wide variation depending on grade and length of service. Newly qualified primary teachers reported a salary net of tax of around TSh 58 000 (roughly equivalent to £40 at 2002 exchange rates) whilst the longest serving primary teachers received over TSh 90 000 (£60). Teachers collect their salaries from the DEO. In the first instance, complaints of non or late payment of salaries or salary rises are taken by the teacher concerned or his/her headteacher to the DEO. Likewise, school or village committees dissatisfied with the conduct of teachers can take their complaints to the DEO. The District Education Officers are appointed by MoEC but report to the District Commissioner as well as MoEC.

DEOs are responsible for recruiting teachers. Each year, the DEO counts the number of vacant positions in the district and advertises for applicants. Applicants are interviewed, selected and allocated to a school by district staff. It is normal for a headteacher to meet new staff for the first time when they report to take up their duties. School committees should also take complaints of teacher misconduct to the DEO, where they are usually resolved by transferring the teacher to another school. Recruitment was in process during my second fieldwork visit in May 2003, giving me

the opportunity to observe applicants' attempts to secure positions in the most desirable schools. In Mkuranga district, DEOs belived that some of those newly qualified teachers, who had not yet reported to village posts, had found a position in Kibaha district. In Kibaha, the finger was pointed at Dar es Salaam. Devolvement of teacher recruitment to the district level is a recent development and is part of a programme of decentralisation within the public sector (MoEC, 1995:29-30; BEDC, 2001:15-18). Formerly, MoEC allocated newly qualified teachers to the various regions, the Regional Education Officer then allocated them to districts, from whence they were posted to schools (Alphonce, 1993:7; Levira & Mahenge, 1996:85).

Teachers' Service Commission

The Teachers' Service Commission (TSC) is one of the parastatal organisations, under MoEC, whose functions have been altered very little by decentralisation. It has a political function of reconciling between teachers (at all levels, from pre-primary up to Higher Education), their employers (in the case of primary teachers this means both district councils and MoEC) and trade unions. On the one hand, TSC is supposed to "strive to secure good conditions of service to all teachers" (URT, 1989:5) through its influence on policy-making and on the other to "promote teachers' professionalism, code of conduct and moral ethics ... through seminars and meetings for teachers" (URT, 1999a:58). In addition, the TSC serves an administrative function in maintaining a record of every teacher in service. The TSC advises MoEC and communicates with regional and district councils on the employment conditions of teachers generally as well as mediating in individual cases, for example, should a teacher raise a complaint regarding late or non-payment of salary or payrises or a DEO wish to dismiss a teacher for misconduct. Alphonce (1993:1) claimed that the

TSC's role as "the extension of the government's bureaucratic arm" diminished its credibility, in the eyes of teachers, with respect to its function as an advocate for their rights. There was a TSC meeting in Mkuranga whilst I was collecting data in the district. Mandhari School closed for the afternoon so that all teachers could attend the meeting and in addition, a good part of the morning was given over to preparation of a presentation. In Mkuranga town, I met teachers from two other schools making their way to the same meeting. There is no doubt that the extent of participation in this meeting is more a measure of dissatisfaction with employment conditions than confidence in the TSC. Nonetheless, it does suggest that the TSC is viewed as an ear of government.

Tanzania Teachers' Union

The Tanzania Teachers' Union (TTU), also known as *Chama cha Walimu Tanzania* (CWT), represents all categories of teachers, including district and regional educational officers, headteachers and university lecturers. It is Tanzania's largest and most politically powerful trade union. Its president, Margaret Sitta, also heads up the umbrella Organisation of Tanzanian Trade Unions (OTTU). TTU was the first fully autonomous trade union to be established since independence. According to Mukandala (1999:25), the trade unions, which had cooperated with Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in agitating for Independence, were perceived as a threat by the country's new rulers. Throughout the period of single party politics (1960s up to 1980s), trade unions only existed as the arm of the state-party (TANU, later *Chama cha Mapinduzi*, CCM) concerned with the mass organisation of workers. With the introduction of multiparty politics, trade union organisations gradually secured greater autonomy. However, they remained constrained by *modi operandi* that ensured the national leadership was dominated by government officials. The

formation of the TTU, eventually registered in 1992, stood out as a sharp break from this tradition. Mukandala (1999:25) describes how, a power struggle between government and trade unionists for control over the infant organisation, created space for academics at the University of Dar es Salaam to take charge of the process. Unfortunately, following a teachers' strike in 1993/4 poor leadership led to the TTU losing its credibility with teachers and a breakdown in relations with CCM (Kerr, 2005). Since being voted into office, Margaret Sitta has healed the rift with CCM, yet there was no evidence from this study that primary school teachers considered TTU to be of relevance to them.

In brief interviews with me, both the TTU secretaries for Shinyanga Rural and Shinyanga Municipality districts described TTU's chief functions as petitioning teachers' employers for better working conditions and promoting a professional code of ethics amongst teachers. Neither mentioned TTU's purely administrative function of dispensing loans. The only time that TTU was mentioned by other teachers participating in this research was, however, in relation to this function. During my fieldwork, a DEO living in Dar es Salaam easily secured a loan through the TTU head office to replace her stolen mobile telephone. By contrast, a teacher in rural Shinyanga, when talking about a loan co-operative at her school, complained that teachers had to resort to self-help projects because the TTU was only interested in important people and had never held a meeting in her locality. The secretary for Shinyanga Rural showed me his only vehicle, an aging land rover that was out of service, in need of repair. Primary school teachers are TTU's most numerous but also most dispersed constituency. It would appear that lack of resources and, perhaps, a deliberate decision to concentrate on strengthening relations with the

centre, have led to the marginalisation of primary school teachers by their trade union.

Appendix 3.3: Summary history of primary education in Tanzania and England

DATE	TANZANIA	ENGLAND
1650		Charity schools started for poor classes, cheap education provided by religious organisations and a few private benefactors.
		Industrial revolution takes children out of schools and into factories and mines.
1780		Sunday school movement sponsored by churches.
	Koranic schools in Swahili-speaking areas near the coast.	Religious rivalry for control of schools postpones state support.
1834		1st government grant for education.
1840	Early missionaries start schools within their 'enclaves' for preparing future evangelists/catechists and teachers.	1st teacher training college sponsored and run by Dr. Kay-Shuttleworth prompts churches to open colleges.
1861		Payment by results leads to increased control of local managers.
1870		School Boards established, responsible for meeting deficiencies in voluntary provision.
		National Union of Elementary Teachers established.
1885	German East Africa declared a protectorate.	
1890		Elementary education made free and compulsory up to the age of 12.
1892	First government school established.	
1897	German colonial government establishes secular mini-education system to prepare administrators & technicians in medium of Swahili, mainly recruiting Arabs and Indians from Coastal areas.	Exams and pay by results replaced by 'surprise' inspections.
1902		LEAs take over from School Boards, larger and with more control.
1906		LEAs authorised to assist voluntary organisations in providing free school meals to poor.
1907	Mission schools increase secular component of curriculum in response to government grants. Education used to counter influence of Islam.	25% of secondary school places made available to poor elementary school graduates. Selection tests introduced.
1914	Mission schools and bush schools survive with no European support during WW 1.	
		School leaving age raised to 14

1919	Britain mandated Tanganyika by League of Nations.	NUT splits into a union for men and another for women, over equal pay for women.
1921		National salary scales for teachers introduced.
1926	Government-missionary partnership in education with government giving grants to missions, interested in christianising masses, whilst running a small system, aimed at preparing skilled cadre needed by administration. Mission village schools teach in vernacular up to S2, and Swahili S3-6. Bush schools teach literacy in vernacular to Christian converts. Minority European and Indian populations have their own government-assisted education systems.	Elementary schools renamed primary.
1933	Local 'native authorities' and chiefs secure government assistance for secular local schools. Government favours elementary education for Africans in vernacular over training of cadre.	1st official recommendations of 'discovery' and child-centred learning.
1939	WW2 world demand for raw materials increases prosperity accelerating educational expansion.	War-time evacuations sensitise public to deprivation of city slums leading to demand for educational improvement.
1944	Government supports mass education for national economic prosperity and in anticipation of self-government.	Education Act to set up Ministry of Education, introduces principle of free secondary education for all. Provision of free milk and school meals extended.
1950	African education system formalised into 4 year primary, 4 year middle and 4-6 years secondary, following British system. Mission assisted and native authority account for bulk of schools.	School curricular autonomy and progressive ideologies curtailed in practice by 11+ exams for selecting between entry to grammar or secondary modern schools and teachers' short (2-year) training.
1957	Trade unions and TANU campaign for independence. Nyerere appeals to UN.	Russian launching of Sputnik prompts government encouragement of curricular innovations led by teachers.
1960		Teaching certificate extended to 3 years Comprehensivisation of secondary education, 11+ exams begin to be phased out.
1961	Tanganyika (now Mainland Tanzania) gains independence, sooner than British administration anticipated. Primary GER around 35%.	

1962	Racial segregation within schools abolished.	
1965		Plowden report recommends child-centred schooling.
1967	Arusha Declaration and beginning of Ujamaa. Introduction of ESR.	Rapid expansion of higher education and introduction of B.Ed. rapidly increases proportion of graduate primary teachers.
	Primary curriculum 'Africanised'. Voluntary Agency schools nationalised, including mission and church schools.	
1969		"Black papers" calling for greater teacher accountability, a core curriculum and more direct central control to counter a supposed fall in educational standards.
1974	Beginning of UPE, massive expansion at expense of quality.	Teachers' pay disputes.
	Grade C route into teaching open to primary school graduates.	
1980	TSC established	State control and market flexibility of education increased.
1981	Government declares UPE achieved. Economic recession slows expansion and enrolment begins to drop.	'Discourse of derision' aimed at teachers leads to supply problem.
1984	Tanzania agrees to SAPs.	
1985	Education expansions stagnates	Teachers' pay dispute aggravated by loss of control and autonomy.
1988		ERA passed, leading to managerialism, more intrusive accountability measures, publication of 'league' tables and performance related pay.
1990	Jomtien Conference indicates international commitment to EFA.	
1992	TTU registered as independent trade union.	NC and national testing phased in, teachers adapt to NC, concerns over performativity undermining teacher professionalism.
	Teachers strike over pay.	
2002	Policy-writing produces ETP(1995) and eventually leads to PEDP (2001).	
	Phasing in of UPE begins. Grade A crash course for primary teachers started.	

Sources on Tanzania:
Buchert (1994); Buchert (1997); Cameron & Dodd (1970); MoEC (1994); MoEC (1995).

Sources on England:
Curtis & Boultwood (Curtis & Boultwood, 1966); Holman (1898); Hoyle & John (1995); Lowe (1987); Thomas (Thomas, 1990).